everything that can at least be saved, at least for the ethnologist, should 114
be brought to safety. I tried to carry out to the best of my ability this duty
that belongs to every scientific traveler, insofar as my chief task, research [123]
in my own special field, permitted. I made it a rule to note down only
those things I saw and experienced in direct, personal contact with the
natives. Only in the chapter, "Midwifery" did I find it necessary to depend
upon the experiences of a local white woman. Well aware that the experiences of an [173] individual can only be spotty, I still prefer to paint the picture of the Hottentots as it appeared to me and not to draw with another's pen, even when the gaps are large, because in an area that leaves so much to the interpretation of the individual, I would only trust myself an interpretation of those things which I myself have observed.

G. Fritsch (68) has made a compilation of the most worthwhile ethnological material that was available up to 1872. But since the work of Theophilus Hahn, (66) published in 1867, there have been no coherent original investigations of the folk life of the Hottentots. I will merely mention Ratzel's(70) presentation here. It cannot be my job to discuss the problems of the comparative ethnology of the South African peoples from the viewpoint of the specialized literature. I shall only report my own observations, developed independently, often merely stated as facts for more expert people to evaluate.

In regard to the Hottentot script inserted in the text, refer to what is [104]
said in chapter V, A, about the language.

I was always spurred to further research by seeing that where, on the 177
basis of older reports, it was least expected, the old individuality of the
people in respect to the family and the individual, had often remained

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68. G. Fritsch, _Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas_. Breslau, 1872.

66. Th. Hahn, _Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie_ (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

70. Fr. Ratzel, _Völkerkunde_, 2nd ed., 1894.

surprisingly pure, in spite of all cultural influences. But in the social and political area, most has been irreparably lost. 177

Capitulum I

The Body and Its Care

A. The external appearance of a Hottentot has little that is attractive. 142
The posture of the body of neither the male nor the female of any age has 171
the dignity that is usual among the Herero in youth and early manhood. The [516]
tall, slim form of the Herero has a well developed musculature in the male
sex and in the female sex a moderately developed Panniculus produces
beautiful forms and symmetry. This naturally heightens the attractiveness
of all motions in the case of the youthful body. Only [174] a strap girdles
the loins of the Herero in youth. A knee-length skin shirt covers the front
and the seat, but with every step the entire line of the thigh, the slim hip
line and the transitions to the groin are revealed. The body of the Hottentot
is too small in spite of its good proportions and normal muscular develop-
ment, and it is usually so distorted by scraps of European clothing that its [291]
movements have no charm. The motions of the female bodies are somewhat clumsy because of an oversized seat and young girls who lack this ornament are quite unsteady in the movements of their limbs. [Picture. A young Herero woman (compare the figure of an older Hottentot woman on page 180)].[1]

The limbs themselves are more delicately formed. Their hands and feet are smaller and thinner than is usually the case in adults of our race and in South Africa are only surpassed by the miniature limbs of the little Bush women.

That part of the body which we know best in ourselves and others and 142
by which we form our first judgment of a person either consciously or unconsciously, is the face. The physiognomy of the Hottentot, although ugly, attracts our attention in two ways: It is always interesting to observe spiritual animation in this strange mirror, and even more so when we become better acquainted with it through the years. And then it is a strange feeling to apply the concept of the animal species which is prompted at first glance by the contrast of our features and theirs to our own race.

A closer comparison*, taking into account the areas that correspond and

*Measurements will be given in another place.
The following accounts concern only the living body.

[1] [see p. 88.-Analyst]

Actually we must keep in mind, that the Hottentots have borrowed a great deal from the gestures of the foreign peoples in their present surroundings. Their receptivity for foreign things is great. When this is considered, the number of gestures which can be considered original because they are unique or dominant among the Hottentots, is greatly reduced. As a gesture of affirmation, they usually throw back the head slightly at the same time shutting the eyes. This is frequently observed, especially among the women. 201 [177]

Negation is expressed in a careless manner by an inarticulated sound with the mouth closed. The sound resembles a short, light cough, only it is voiced somewhat with a notable rise in tonal level at the beginning and a fleeting fall at the end.

They themselves call an expressive gesture of astonishment *•//a·mana·m* (from *•//a·m* - covering to hide and *ams* - mouth). For this gesture they cover the mouth and the entire lower half of the face with their hand flat and turn the head to one side, at the same time raising the eyelids. Lifting the upper eyelids (without raising the eyebrows), which I often observed during a conversation whenever there was a sudden dawning of recognition or awakening of interest, can only be designated here as a common human mode of expression. 201 152

Shame cannot be recognized by a blush because of the fawn-colored character of their skin. Bending the head sideways and covering the face with the elbow is a frequent manner of expressing the feeling of shame.

I found a gesture of repugnance or strong dislike very marked among the women. The face is turned to one side and slightly tipped backwards from the person against whom the gesture is directed. The eyelids droop limply, the mouth is distorted into a snout, the upper lip coming quite close to the nostrils as though to plug them up. Using the same gesture, called *≠onam*, a person who has overeaten turns aside when food is offered to him.

It is no longer possible to decide whether embracing and cheek kissing as a tender gesture of greeting is original among the Hottentots or a gesture they have adopted. An old woman embraced and kissed one of my young companions with feelings of joy, when he [184] returned to her dwelling after years of separation. She summoned other women and couldn't express her joy sufficiently. Her eyes were too deeply encased in wrinkles for me to see if she was weeping. One may probably consider weeping as an expression of joyful emotion a

alone but only if they do not have to leave the mainland, but can get the 225
individual animals that occasionally wander on the main beach.

They also hunt penguins, take the eggs from the nests, kill young, 222
inexperienced cormorants with a kirri or fish with a hook bought from [227
the whites. In general, however, the Hottentots, that today life along 439]
the coast, have become so completely accustomed to European food
in the service of the whites, that they no longer know how to acquire 177 ●
food in the ways their grandfathers did. Eighty years (6) ago they 262

> 6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages 226
> etc., from the Year 1822 to 1831, New York, 1841. 227

still fished in Whalefish Bay with wooden spears four-and-a-half meters
long, which were cut from a heavy hard wood, caught heavy fish,
weighing seven to ten pounds, with them at a distance of 25 meters and [317
pickled them with salt which they obtained from salt springs near the 251]
bay.

With bow and arrow they killed quantities of seabirds, especially 223
in the nesting season, buried them in the sand to get rid of their fishy 251
taste until they turned green, then cleaned out their insides, skinned
them and left them lying twice twenty-four hours in the sun; the
rotten meat, so prepared, is supposed to have kept for many months.

A favorite food of the Hottentots, mentioned by Morrell, was warm, 262
raw intestines of freshly slaughtered cattle.

Dolphins, which come right up to the beach in Whalefish Bay, 225
may have been captured. The customs which were formerly observed 252
in the preparation of dolphins are still well remembered. They took off all their clothes and naked cut up the dolphin. Touching the animal with the body except with the mouth was considered harmful. During the work they avoided touching themselves with their hands and used a little piece of wood for scratching. The flesh of the animal was cooked in sea water, rinsed in cold sea water and squeezed out. Before they put on their clothes again, they cleaned their bodies of any bits of the animal that might be clinging to them.

Among the lesser sea animals, certain mussels and snails have 226
always formed one of the chief foods of the coastal dwellers from the
Cape of Good [186] Hope up to Cape Cross. Great heaps of patellate [172]
shells mixed with bits of pottery and the remains of ostrich eggshells
lie half buried in the sand dunes near Port Nolloth. Concerning the
mollusks used for food, turn to page 31.

locusts may seem to us, the Hottentot honors it. A Hottentot told me, 262
with a wonderful mixture of Christian and heathen fantasy, that God [177
himself, when he came down from heaven and lived on the still un- 773]
populated earth, lived for a long time only on lucusts. Should he then
be ashamed of it?

2. Vegetable Foods

The vegetable foods of the Hottentots consist of wild plants* with 262 222 137

the few exceptions named above (garden crops). The most important from the point of view of quantity and nourishment are: a) the underground parts of certain plants that are filled with reserve materials such as rootstocks, tubers, or bulbs (cf. the analysis in the appendix).

The edible "field onions" (Cape Dutch: uientjes, called kχai·rán) have various forms. The Iridaceae are represented in the plains around Kubub primarily by a Babiana species (called *≠gũnub), which are easily identified in the dry season by their withered leaves. On the other hand, a field onion grows in the Kububer mountains which can only be found [193] when the rain has brought out the young leaves. The Hottentots call this kind which I could not classfy *!gao·beb.

[Picture: Babiana spec. 2/3 natural size. Moraea spec. 2/3 natural size. ≠ha·ʔob. 2/3 natural size.]

Both Uientjes species are gathered by the sack in good years. The 252
type mentioned first is prepared in one of two ways; it is either [194]
roasted in hot ashes, or the onions are cleaned of their skins while
fresh and chopped up in a sack by beating them with stones. When the
whole mass has been dried in the sun, it is salted and cooked with
milk to a porridge.

The bulbs of another edible Iridaceae, a Moraea species with 262
peculiarly turned leaves (called ≠garib), is supposed to have given its 222 137

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* The plants that belong here are mostly little known botanically and from the point of view of nourishment. Mention of them in writings is so scattered that I shall disregard summarizing these fragments and restrict myself to an account of my own few observations.

[Picture. Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size. 137
Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.] 222

The leaves and flowers of the /ũʔrobis, of the Oxalis genus are 262
dried in a pan over the fire, crumbled and kneaded in fresh milk when [252]
cooled. The milk then curdles. All the coarse fibrous parts are removed, the leaves and blossoms separate into small pieces and are eaten.

Several compositae offer edible blossoms. The blossoms of two Gazania species (one white and one yellow, both called *!go·bo//nãʔs) are eaten with pleasure, either raw or stirred into a porridge in boiling milk with salt.

A number of compositae are grouped together under the collective name */gī·gye/ga·mes, to which those with edible blossoms also belong [203] such as the Berkheya corymbosa D.C. The above-mentioned
Hottentot term, however, also includes a Hydrophyllaceae with edible [824]
blossoms, Codon Royeni Thbg. and is also used for Compositae which cannot be eaten such as Eremothamnus Marlothianus O. Hffm.). It must also be considered that many of the above-mentioned blossoms are only occasionally eaten by adults, but one cannot pass them by
without any comment, because they are of importance for the nourish- [855]
ment of the children, who have to get along by themselves and can satisfy their hunger with them. The same is true of the gum-resin (hai·rab) of the acacias. [Picture. Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.]

3. Luxuries

Luxuries of the natives were formerly infusions made from legumes 222
and herbs of various kinds. Even today the capsules of Ectadium 272
virgatum E. Mey. and the seeds from the pods [204] of the Acacia 137
hebeclada, D.C. which are as long as a finger and stand stiffly upright, are roasted, ground and infused while boiling. Similarly they use the seeds of a pod-bearing bush called !kχãʔs, which is easily recognized by its soft leaves, longer than one's finger and piny needles, which are set in pairs at the root of a long, yellow, hard,
sharp thorn that is a centimeter long. A fern is also brewed as tea. 177
But since the natives have become accustomed to our coffee and tea, 272
the above-mentioned plants have ceased to be important, at least in the household of the healthy Hottentot. In addition the Hottentot has become a slave to alcohol and tobacco since coming into contact with whites.

I used as the basis of my description those huts which did not yet show signs of the rapid degeneration which are seen today in all areas of Namaland culture. In twenty years will there still be any mat huts like the ones described here? Gradually they will all be a patchwork of rags and discarded objects from white households as are those of Angra Pequena. And where formerly the huts were close together (67) in a circle, surrounded (66), (68) by a hedge of clipped thorn bushes and joined to form a kraal (//gaũs, !hafs), and where now scattered groups of huts (!harigu) stand together, soon there will be straight streets easily supervised by police, just as in Keetmanshoop, and finally the last traces of the native dwellings will be swallowed up by the barracks of the locations. 342 177 621 177 361

67. P. Kolben, Caput bonae spei hodiernum etc., Nürnberg 1719 (it was available to me in a German translation in Capetown).

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie, (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau 1872.

B. Preparation of Leather

Before the white man came to the country skins of domestic and wild animals were the only materials used for clothing and blankets by the Hottentots. Today it is hard to find traces of this custom. The traces are there but you must know how to track them down; for example there are the skin sack dresses of the women who have not quite divorced themselves from the customs of their ancestors in spite of all printed material and bright cheap cloth, and who still preserve their karosses and skin aprons. Or out in the veld one can find traces in the huts of impoverished cattle herders who can only occasionally afford the luxury of European articles and the rest of the time carry on their handicrafts as the Hottentots did 50 years ago. I learned from such people. 281 177 291 did 50 years ago. I learned from such people. 281

1. Tanning, *|no·ro*, in the broadest sense (usually women's work). [462]

a) The process itself involves the following techniques: The freshly removed skin is first spread out to dry with the hairy side up, usually on the hut so that it will be safe from dogs.

When the skin is dry and hard, it is softened up with the juice of [824]
succulent plants which are pounded (**/a·mai*) into the fleshy side of
the skin.

The excess liquid is poured off and the skin rolled up so that it
will not get dry too soon. The woman then kneels on the roll, after
she has spread out flat just as much as she can work at a time. The
fleshy side of the skin is sprinkled with sandstone powder and briskly
rubbed (*/nũʃ*) with a piece of tanning stone (**/kχoms*) the size of one's [413]
fist.

When the sandstone has rubbed off all the scraps of meat, they let the skin get half dry again, full it (*/no·ro* in the narrower sense) and knead it then as they would laundry and then rub soft fat into the outer side.

The skin is now certainly dry and pliable but if it were soaked
through by the rain, it would again become hard and brittle when dry.
To prevent that, the skin is tanned with the crushed and softened red [824]
bast of the *Acacia horrida Willd.* (**basi*, probably borrowed). Then
the skin is placed for an hour in red bast lye, with the bark bundles [386]
wrapped in it, until it is saturated. It is half dried again, [234], and
then spread out for about another half hour in a flat trench and covered
(*//ha/n*) with slightly dampened sand. In conclusion a man takes the
skin by the tail, another by the head, women and children grasp the
sides and they pull and stretch it smooth.

Finally dried in the sun, the skin is permanently soft, rainproof and dyed a pretty reddish-brown on the inside.

b) Useful objects made from tanned skins are: α) Floor skins, 281
≠go/a·n. They are the carpets of the huts. Young cattle, goats, sheep, 352
springbok and duikerbok furnish the material. A single skin of this kind
is called *≠go/a·s*. *≠go/a·b* is the large rug which consists of about six
floor skins that are cut and sewn together with strips of sinews.

β) Skin covers, "Kompersen," *≠na·mti*, made from sheep, jackal, 281
Octoyon megalotis Desmar), rock-rabbit or lynx skin, used as a fur 291
cloak or kaross, a comfortable, solid and warm article of clothing for
women (see Plate X.). Today it has been almost entirely replaced by [177]
European clothing.

somebody dropped a piece of tobacco -- all such things are placed in 415
the wide sack which hangs by its two straps on the hut's bracing poles.
For making it, two goat or klipspringer [Orcotragus saltator (Layard)] 281
skins are fitted together at the edges and sewn all around with sinews except for a place in the middle of one of the sides. This opening is just large enough for a hand. In time of need one reaches into the sack; it is the last resource. A handful of coffee and a few pipefuls of tobacco are certain to be found among the odds and ends that have collected there.

f) Poor Hottentots use their pillow, ≠kχa·bis, to store tobacco. A 415
pair of square pieces of the same size are cut from the skins of goat, 276
sheep, klipspringer, or steinbok, sewn together on three sides, the pocket then stuffed with klipspringer hair or ox hair or feathers and then closed. If someone wants to save tobacco for hard times, he crumbles it, cuts a stitch of the pillow, sprinkles the crumbs into the stuffing (/kχaũb) and sews it up. In this way he keeps himself from nibbling. He must be in desperate need before he decides to rip up the pillow in order to separate a thimble full of tobacco from the heap of hair.

3. Fresh Drying

a) The part of the back skin of an oryx or a cow that is to be used 294
for leather soles, is stripped off fresh, cut into long rectangular pieces (/kχa·na, vb.) and dried hard. The stiff flat pieces are placed on a bed of fresh cow manure, then covered with cow manure or buried in most sand until they have become soft. Then they are rolled, beaten with a stick until soft, dampened slightly in wet sand, cut, and used without further treatment. The hairy side of the skin becomes the outside surface of the shoe sole (//ha/bo·b, also means shoe). It is to be [291
assumed that sandals, /kχabu·s, were the original foot wear of the 177] ●
Hottentots, not the shoe pictured here [239] which they now normally wear.

b) The skin of a goat, a young calf, an oryx calf, or a steinbok is 415
made into a large water bag, !ga/ba·b. The left front leg of a freshly 281
killed antelope is slit lengthwise and the slit extended to the area of the front shoulder. The whole body is shelled out of this opening. Head and legs are cut off and the openings tied up as are the anus, the

old snail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called ≠go/asū/s, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it *kχoē·kχoēsū/s, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[2] came to my ears. 323 172 415

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called *//gū/s, on the fire. 177

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.] 415 324

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, */ui aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone*, */uiams (always feminine 412 324

*The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending. 193 196

In the neighborhood of Kulub there are two watering places next each other, *≠kχanu·b and *≠kχanu·s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

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[2] [i.e., p. 120 of this translation.—Analyst]

The mares are guarded, and as the foals are an easy prey for the leopard, they are kept in a kraal at night. 231

The way the Hottentot trains a horse will not be discussed here because this is so strongly influenced by the European way that we were not able to learn anything that is peculiar to the people. [177]

[268] The Dog

Along with cattle and sheep, the dog has been a Hottentot domestic animal for generations. It keeps thieving raiders away from the cattle and is easy to tame with milk. He does especially outstanding service when the Hottentots are hunting dog-like predatory animals. He chases the oryx antelope successfully. I am not able to say anything about the outward appearance of the Hottentot dog. My efforts to photograph one failed as well as several offers to buy one. [224]

The Hottentot tries to accustom (//ama·, vb.) the usually shy animal to him by his smell. For this purpose he smears some of the sweat of his armpits on the dog's nostrils or he carries a piece of raw meat for several hours in his skin shoe and then feeds it to the dog. Bitches that are not supposed to become pregnant are burned in the genitals with a hot iron. The animals are then so sensitive to touch that they fend off all dogs.

B. The Hunt

Hunting among the Hottentots has acquired European touches since the introduction of firearms and horses. Technically they hunt resembles that in our homeland but actually rises sky high above it when one sees that a hunter is not just a good shot but also a connoisseur of wildlife and of natural history. The Hottentot is also a just hunter. He does not kill indiscriminately, because he normally avoids any activity which goes beyond his own and his family's needs. The unparalleled commercial hunting and slaughter of the Boers in general and of certain sport speculators of other nations, which within a short time has wiped out irretrievably the noble wildlife down to the last animal in wide areas, is a shameful blemish on the history of civilization in South Africa. Climatic changes and epidemics have thinned out the wildlife at the same time. 185 224 [177]

136 legs are likewise striped horizontally. The hair is longer and stiffer on the nape and back where it forms an erectile comb. The forehead and cheeks have short, silver-grey fur which contrasts sharply with the regular black of the rest of the face.

33. The rodents play a subordinate role in relation to the antelopes [224 and the predatory animals. The prejudice which the Hottentot former- 177] ly had against the hare, !õ·as, as wild game (66), has now vanished.

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie Globus, [Bd.] XII, 1867.

They differentiate three kinds: the largest, Lepus saxatilis Cuv., rock hare, (Cape D. koolhaas), which they call !kχa·erab, seems to resemble our field hare in coloring, since a light brownish color mixed with black forms the basic color of its fur.

The Cape hare, Lepus capensis L., (Cape D. vlackte haas), called /kχa·rus, is smaller. The young animals are called */a·bara≠ga·en because of their reddish translucent ears. A light grey with light yellowish tones and black mixed in form the basic color of its somewhat rough fur.

While the rock hare and the Cape hare have a little tail that has black wool above and white wool underneath, the last kind, Lepus crassicaudatus Geoffr., (Cape D. kliphaas), called tso/aru·s or tso/ara·s, is easily recognized [286] by the even brownish-red color of its thick bushy powerful tail.

34. The Cape Jumping Hare, Pedetes caffer (Pallas), called *χa·rab is common in the northern border territory. Whoever prefers to ride during the night because of the oppressive heat of the day, often sees this kangaroo-like animal jumping among the savanna bushes in the moonlight. The hind legs of the animal with their greatly lengthened toes have been transformed into powerful jumping legs and only two short little arms hang in front of the body as front legs. The body is a yellowish grey-brown above and white underneath. The long bushy tail is yellowish-brown above and black the last third. [Picture. Hystrix africae australis (Peters.)]

35. The porcupine, Hystrix africae australis (Peters), (Cape D. ijzervark), furnishes a tasty roast. Many kinds of hair cover the body. Flexible strong hairs are only to be found on the limbs and the belly. The quills that are at first weak, stiff and about the length of a finger

is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 226), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "//ã/gu hã kƶoëra gye nĩ /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate." 584 832

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transferred to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality. 177 836 684

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him. 584

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, !gū/≠ās. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations. 585 431

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, abago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in aba skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called *samago/mas. The term kƶā/go/mas, [299] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kƶā/) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII). 585 [601]

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned. 177 595

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority. 593 171 562 462

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, /gõ· an. Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X). 854 [601]

"//Haniba !kχara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (sĩǂ). In other cases I heard the mother wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kχao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (•-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy. 854 866

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (•maĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, āǂbes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents. 855 422 [585

In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments 177
for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended 86
into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to [861]
the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents
in training their children has declined since the whites have become
dominant. Where formerly the son, /gõ· ab, as long as he was only half- [601]
grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore
also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself inde- [601]
pendent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gõ· as,
who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can sup- [836]
port herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising 888
of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been
preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not [887]
forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the
people as reflected most clearly in the sagas and tales. The address ti [601
//nao/b or ti //nao/osa, i. e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is 576]
used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the 601
words refer to. A child always addresses its father with ti•dāb or dā. tse, and its mother with ti ais or aise: my father! my mother! The expressions dāda. b and mama· s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the chil- [171]
dren of the Namib Bushmen address their parents sao/b and sao/os. For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a child or an old man: sa sao/b, thy father etc.

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83. See 88. 88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

Before we leave the children, it should be pointed out how their common activities unite them in friendship. The boys and the girls or both together, when they are coevals (//hā♩, vb.) and have grown up in the same place, consider themselves comrades (/gui//hā♩n) their life long. Each is the •//hā·♩sab or the •/hō·♪sab of the other. Usually I did not hear them call each other by their names but they addressed each other in a special form of intimacy as ao·tse in the masculine and a·χase in the feminine sex. It is not necessary to list individually the duties of those of the same age to each other. The general duty of this comradery which includes all the others is sticking together in all phases of life. 857

[316] 5. The Dissolution of the Family

The dissolution of the family usually occurs early under present-day conditions. Formerly the large stock of cattle, similar to one of our large peasant farms, held the family together for a long time in the interest of economical operation and complete use of the property. Today the Hottentot is forced to earn his living at an early age in the service of the white man and so the children often separate when they are only half grown. 593

To what extent the death of one of the parents loosens the family ties cannot be measured without a knowledge of the laws of inheritance. I have not made any studies in this field. [428]

I was only able to find out about burial customs. As they are maintained today, they are a mixture of old traditions, of Christian influences and of the progressive degeneration of the folk customs. The eyes of the corpse are closed, the body washed by old women and stretched out on its back. The arms are placed at the sides and the hands placed next each other in the lap with the back of the hand up. Skins are used as a shroud. They are wrapped around the body with the hairy side in and sprinkled with buchu powder and then sewn together. The face is kept uncovered until shortly before interment, then the tip of a skin that has been kept for the purpose is placed over it and sewed together loosely. 764 [177]

The body stays alone in the hut, lying on covers on the floor. The relatives, neighbors and friends spend the night together outside singing. Before the body is buried, the funeral feast begins. The men who dig the grave eat before they start the work. When the grave is about 3/4 of a meter wide and scarcely the depth of a man, a low, narrow side niche for the body is hollowed out at the bottom along the side of the grave. Usually burial takes place on the afternoon of the day after death. The

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sprouts from the old withered grass roots after the first plentiful rain, then the grass meadow (≠ga·eb, "leaves") seems to be checked (/hō/, with a black and white checked marking) (see p. 265) . . December

[177] δ) The Hottentot became familiar with the division of time into weeks only as a day laborer in the service of the whites: he had to get used to paydays and holidays. His calendar for this purpose is a thin piece of wood, about 10 centimeters long and 2 centimeters wide, into which seven holes have been burned. A thong is attached to one end, and the loose end of the thong is inserted successively through one of the holes, each of which designates a certain day of the week. The women like to tie the calendar wood to their necklaces by means of the upper end of the thong; the men like to wear it on their hats along with a fluttering ostrich feather. The primitive calendar is called bē·kgye hais, the "week wood" (borrowed from Dutch week).

[373] ε) The smallest unit of time measurement of the Hottentots is the day, tsēs, and the night, tsū·χub. They indicate the length of a journey by days and nights. //a·ri means both "tomorrow" and "yesterday."

The other distinctions they make do not refer to lengths of time but only to times of day. In this connection the many words for the time between day and night is striking, whereas in the day itself only noon, tsē!gã/b, is emphasized. This becomes understandable if one considers that the sun, with negligible exceptions, is visible all year long from early in the morning until evening. The Hottentot knows how to express specific hours as well as duration of time, with certainty and comprehensibly, by reference to the position of the sun.

Special designations are used only for the time at the beginning and at the end of the day.

1. *//go·a!a·roam is the dawn.
2. *!u·itsū·χubab is the dusk.
3. The bright time of day shortly before sunrise is called *kχai·//go·agab since this period of daybreak (//go·ab) is usually the most bitingly cold (!kχai).
4. The period of brightness immediately following sunset is called */a ba/ho·bab, that is "the red twilight."

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XXV

What is this: when (o) you (-tsa, personal suff.) see (mũ) it from (χu) afar (!nū, -se adverbial ending, -ba demon. particle), it is blue (≠hoa), and white (!uri) things (χūn, neut. pl.) are (hã) on it (ai, with pass. ending and personal suff.), but when you (-ts) have come (hã) up close (/gũ), it is transparent (!anu "clean, clear")? -- The sea.

E) Concluding Remarks

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The Hottentots' Relation to Invading Culture

How does it happen that a people like the Hottentots, which has given clear evidence of an intelligence that has long been recognized and that is outstanding among the aborigines of South Africa, melts away like wax on a hot plate before the invasion of culture? The process of this dissolution up to the present date has been recorded in descriptions of peace and war (75, 73, 82)*. Here we are interested solely in the principle of the matter.

*75. C.V.François. Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Geschichte der Kolonisation bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges mit Witbooi. Berlin, 1899.

73. H.V. François. Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

82. K. Schwabe. Mit Schwert und Pflug in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Berlin, 1899.

The first contact of a Hottentot tribe with culture took place in a generally friendly manner; all travelers of the past praise the hospitality of the people and the protection which the chieftains gave them against the attacks of individuals. The Hottentot expected and, at first, also found his advantage: the trader brought him clothes and blankets, so that he himself now no longer needed to tan them laboriously from hides and to sew them with sinew thread; the trader brought him household implements which spared him the necessity of making pottery [546] and carving wood. In

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addition there were luxuries: in part ones that had been highly valued for years, like alcohol, now in a new concentrated form; and in part new ones such as tobacco and coffee, which became so popular that they now can scarcely be dispensed with. But the factor that above all others caused the Hottentot to react peacefully to invading culture was the realization that with its help he could multiply his own power in a hitherto unknown fashion: exchanging the bow for the rifle suddenly made him master of all living things and equal in battle to his enemies.

The mission, which sold weapons on a large scale, as well as the German government, which permitted traders to deal in weapons after the protectorate in the north had been seized, gave the Hottentots still further guarantees which likewise brought him willingly closer to culture: the Hottentot soon realized that in the missionary he had a friend upon whom he could depend absolutely in all cases. The government, for its part, made treaties of protection with the chieftains, who were all the more agreeable to these since they did not curtail their own power, at least temporarily.

The Hottentot also expected advantages from the white settler--from the land sales and from the taxes that he levied upon the settler and from the annexations he occasionally undertook of land which the white man had brought under cultivation by hard toil.

In Great Namaland certain regions still lay fallow in which the white man, without taking anything from the native, could settle; but in the course of time it inevitably reached a point when the Hottentot saw himself being hemmed in, whereas formerly he had had at his disposal meadow and water in proportion to his power. Through his chieftains he would probably have had the power to definite advantageously his own spheres of interest and those of the alien race, but he did not have the ability even before he began to feel himself being hemmed in.

The chieftains looked out only for their own interests and they proved themselves very clearly to be what they are: selfish tyrants, not representatives of tribal interests--unless the interests of the tribe coincided with their own. So it was not possible for the white government, which in the meantime had established itself and which was filled with the genuine desire to give everyone his just due, to do anything but limit the autocracy of the chieftains. That has been the main cause of all our Hottentot wars. Temporarily [547] the tyrannical desires of the apparently tame rulers, who decked themselves out with the names of the apostles, prophets and patriarchs, could be appeased with money and liberally dispensed alcohol

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licenses; but those who were preferred in this way, despite all tokens of esteem that were occasionally rendered to them, felt themselves oppressed by the white men, yet at the same time they saw--and this was the ominous factor--that their power over their own people was not broken. That kept their ambition alive and nourished their longing for the full freedom they had enjoyed before. We can be indulgent in our judgment of the fact that this urge finally outweighed any consideration that we might be superior to them in battle--especially since our own predictions in this point were very shortsighted.

We must search elsewhere for the reasons why the mass of the people were ruined by culture rather than were won over to it. In this connection it is necessary to start with the basic revolution in living conditions that was connected, as far as the Hottentots were concerned, with the invasion of culture in South Africa. Let us disregard for the moment cattle breeding and consider the hunting grounds of the Hottentot homeland within their wide former boundaries: around the middle of the seventeenth century, and even only a hundred years ago in many cases, Western South Africa was one of the richest game lands of the earth. Today, south of the Orange River, no Hottentot can make a living any longer by hunting. When it occurred to the Cape Government to protect game, it was far too late to take into consideration the question of the welfare of the natives. The sportsman's concern that he would soon not be able to fish--the half economic and half Lucullian consideration that wild game is, after all, the best part of the South African fare--finally, the consciousness that it is a cultural people's duty to preserve for prosterity certain animals such as, among the big game of South Africa, the elephant, the rhinoceros and the giraffe represent: these were the reasons for the measures protecting at least the remainder of the wild game.

One of the most fruitful hunting methods of the Hottentot was ambushing at the water hole. It is quite clear that this place was devaluated as far as hunting was concerned by the Boer who settled here, or the cattle herder who watered his white master's cattle here, or the waggoner who unyoked here. Where this is repeated in progressively more and more places it becomes just as apparent to the native as the increasing disappearance of game along the railroad lines and in the vicinity of the stations. One should at least be conscious of the fact that, for almost every step of progress (gratifying to us) in the colonization of the land, the native [548] is correspondingly harmed as far as his old way of life is concerned.

More ominous than the captains' ruining of the hunting grounds was the unsystematic auctioning of pasture lands to farm-land speculators, who would stoop to anything. The Hottentot even gave up his cattle in the most frivolous fashion for guns, alcohol, tobacco and other articles to which he had become accustomed.

Often with the laudable intention of preparing him for culture the Hottentot was instilled with certain needs in clothing and ways of living without seeing to it that he satisfies these needs in a way that does not ruin him economically. For the Hottentot by himself does not see--or if he sees it does not want to accept the rational conclusion--that there remain for him only two ways of living under white domination. Either: to keep up with the new competition in the exploitation of the natural resources of the land, that is to learn to manage rationally according to European concepts in order to keep himself economically independent. Or: to bow before the competition and to earn his bread in the service of the white man.

Only a small number of the Hottentots have taken the first way, and only a few of them have managed prosperously. A second part have taken the latter way and have hired themselves out as cattlekeepers, wagon drivers, servant boys or servant girls in the white houses and farms. Here at least he has no worries about food and, in general--even if his master occasionally treats him harshly--feels content when he finds a form of justice that does not degrade him because of the superiority of his master. In this point the Hottentot, despite his superficially often unlimited devotion, is painfully sensitive.

The girls and young women also enter into a relation of dependence to the white men at their own expense. The young Hottentot woman finds a carefree life in intimate intercourse with the white man. Her vanity is generally satisfied in every respect, her sensuality is an important factor, and she is often quite proud of bearing a white child.

For the average Hottentot, whose joys and worries change from day to day, who does not think about providing either for his children after his death or for his own old age, bondage in the service of the white man would be the easiest way of getting through life if, on the one hand, the results of sexual degeneration did not drag him down, [549] and if, on the other hand, he could be trained permanently to regular work; but up until now the latter has never been systematically undertaken either by clerical or mundan forces.

Thus a large number of the Hottentots, as in past centuries, even today feel far better when, in the hard battle for existence, they must win their livelihood from frugal nature, and is hindered in their movement by no limits other than those of nature herself--in this situation they feel much better than at the trough of the white man. A settled way of life does not appeal to them, whose nomadic impulses could probably be broken only by education over a period of generations. They do not wish, as is demanded in the service of the white man, to be bound to the day and the hour; they would preferably undergo the hardships of wanderings and sacrifices of months spent in the wilderness, than allow themselves to be yoked to regular work. The most willing followers of the discontented chieftains are made up of such people.

When then, at any occasion, the signal for a revolt is given, there awakens among hundreds of others the old desire for adventure, the hope for rich booty and victory celebrations, such as live in the memories of all from the endless battles of past decades. Then, too, a way is opened for each individual to take personal revenge for injuries suffered years ago; at times like this, finally, drowning out all detailed questions of right or wrong in present or past, there sounds the cry which I have heard so often and always with the same naivété and logical irrefutability: "The land was ours; we wish to be the masters in it again!" It is the old refrain, and the end of it in this case, too, is simply that one more human race disappears from the face of the earth.

162 whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they
are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts
of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution
[144] further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly
testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous
half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of
Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves.
[103] Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over
many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly
ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the
Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the
rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have
● [177] Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa)
Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as
many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between
the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots
finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

101 The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate
619 groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however,
apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men,
i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they
distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the
name *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known and often
term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no
single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the
word is derived from the term *Hüttentüt* ("stammerer" or
"stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on
account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive
character.[2]

619 Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of
197 Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there
has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

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[1] Cf. Kingon, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 712–79; Pettman, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hetta hie* (? *Haitsi Eibib*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them in friendly greetings".

therefore to draw any clear-cut lines of distinction among them based on either of these factors. Their languages, on the other hand, although all very closely related, fall into four separate dialectical 197
groups. It is customary therefore to group the people themselves into four main divisions, corresponding to the linguistic groupings. These four divisions are known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana, and the Naman.

The Cape Hottentots were the people found by the first European 619
settlers in the vicinity of Table Bay. They probably extended over the greater part of what is now the Western Province of the Cape, and seem to have been fairly numerous.[1] The old Cape Records and the reports of early travellers have preserved for us the names of several of their tribal groups.[2] In and about the Cape Peninsula were the *Goringhaiqua* or *Goringhaikona* and the *Kora* or *Gorachouqua*; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the *Kochoqua*, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants River were the *Little Grigriqua* or *Chariguriqua*, while north of that river were the *Great Grigriqua*, bordering on the southernmost group of the Naman. To the east of the *Kochoqua*, again, were found the *Chainoqua*; further east and south, in what is now the district of Caledon, roamed the *Hessequa*, to the north-east of whom, probably in the present district of Worcester, lived the *Hancumqua*, and, adjoining them, a few lesser groups. Then came the *Attaqua*, extending from Mossel Bay to near the present village of George, and beyond them, finally, [103]
were the *Outeniqua*, whose name still survives in the Outeniqua Mountains.

It is estimated by Theal, on the basis of the early records, that 162
about the time when the Dutch settled at the Cape these different 619
groups together must have numbered from 45,000 to 50,000 persons. 177

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[1] There is a considerable body of literature on this division. The most useful original sources are: N. N. Graevenbroeck, *Elegans et accurata gentis Africanae circa Promontorium Capitis Bonae Spei vulgo Hottentotten nuncupatae descriptio epistolaris*, MS. (1695), published in a Dutch translation by van Oordt under the title "Uit den Ouden Tijd", in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1886; P. Kolb, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum, das ist vollständige Beschreibung des afrikanischen Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung*, Nürnberg, 1719; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 265–342.

[2] The names of these tribes are unfortunately spelt so inaccurately in the early records that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct version of the name according to the Hottentot pronunciation is no longer obtainable. Almost all the names are written not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person masc. plur. (*-kwa* or *-qua* in the Cape Hottentot dialects). The versions given above are those most generally employed by the early writers.

619 177 But the intimate and prolonged contact into which they[1] now cam
with European culture ultimately resulted in their complete di
integration. Wars with the settlers and imported diseases, such
smallpox, led to a rapid decline in the numbers of the people. Eve
[144] more effective, however, in destroying their original status was th
very considerable amount of miscegenation that from the first yea
of the settlement began to take place between them and the whit
settlers and imported East Indian slaves. It is questionable whethe
at the present time a single pure-blooded individual of this divisio
can still be met with, and naturally all semblance of their origin
culture and tribal groupings has long since vanished.

619 A few of the groups, resenting the intrusion of the European
early began to trek away inland from the vicinity of the settlemen
One of these groups, the Kora, which moved away towards the en
of the seventeenth century, is said to have formed the nucleu
[144] of the present Korana division. Another group, the Grigriqua o
Chariguriqua, after receiving a considerable infiltration of whit
blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteent
century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualan
under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it was gradually joine
by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by whic
these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesber
they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middl
Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionar
John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almos
forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years tha
followed the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played a
important part in the political history of South Africa, but all thei
power has now vanished, although they still survive as a stron
community.[1]

The line of division between the CAPE and the EASTERN HOTTENTOT
is not easy to draw. From the records of the early travellers it appears
however, that the groups which can be regarded as belonging to th
latter included, amongst others, the *Inqua*, probably in the presen
district of Aberdeen, the *Damaqua*, between the Gamtoos and Swartkops Rivers, and the *Gonaqua*, at first apparently an insignifican

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[1] On the history of the Hottentots in relation to the European settlers, cf. G. M. Theal
History and Ethnography of Africa, South of the Zambesi, before 1795, 3 vols., London, 1910
passim; Fritsch, op. cit., 449 sqq.; Barthel, op. cit., 20–33; W. M. Macmillan, *The Cap
Colour Question, a Historical Survey*, London, 1927. The early history of the Griqua is full
described by Stow, op. cit., pp. 316–403; cf. also Fritsch, op. cit., 376–84.

[1] [i.e., The Cape Hottentots.—Analyst]

NAMA

619 besides the remnants of the various Great Namaqua tribes, members of several other groups of Hottentots, who came in from south of the Orange River in the early part of the nineteenth century, when there was a general movement of the Hottentot peoples away from the European settlements. These incoming groups were the remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, [144] before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white blood. A great number of the men also spoke Dutch, and the general [191] culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are collectively termed *Orlams* by the indigenous tribes. The origin of this name is uncertain. The principal of them are the *//Aixa //ain* or *Afrikaners*, in the south-east corner of Warmbad, along the northern banks of the Orange River; the */Hobesen* or *Witboois*, between Hoornkrans and Gibeon; the *!Aman* or *Bethanie Hottentots*, round Bethanie; the */Hei /khauan* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Berseba; and the *Gei /khauan* or *Amraal Hottentots*, round Gobabis.

Other Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, south of the Orange [177] River. Their tribal cohesion and culture have, however, been 144] completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older [191] people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves.

In South-West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down. The history of all the tribes for the last century and a half has been one of incessant strife—first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the groups coming in from south of the Orange River; next with the OvaHerero, advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans, who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contact with the Germans, and never fought against them. All the groups have [144] further a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other Europeans.

Numbers

161 These factors make it difficult to state accurately the present numbers of the Hottentots. In South-West Africa, according to

161 the latest official figures available (1926), there are 15,376 people classified as "Hottentots".[1] No attempt appears to have been made to discriminate pure-blooded people from those of mixed blood, or to arrive at an estimate of the numbers belonging to each tribe, but the figure may be taken as on the whole fairly reliable. In the census reports of the Union, on the other hand, all the Hottentots are merged with half-breeds, Malays, etc., under the general heading "Mixed and Other Coloured". Consequently no idea at all can be formed of their present numbers, although there are undoubtedly still a considerable number of people, especially in Little Namaqualand, who from the racial standpoint can certainly be regarded as Hottentots. The latest population returns for what is now the Union in which the official classification "Hottentots" still appears are those of the 1904 census, which give the number of "Hottentots" in the Cape as 85,892, and of "Korannas" as 1,138, while the number of "Hottentots" in Orange Free State is given as 2,785.[2] By this time, however, the term "Hottentot" signified little more than "half-breed", and few of the people included under it were pure-blooded, although the number in whom Hottentot blood was strongly marked was officially estimated at 56,000.

144 161 177 Like the Bushmen, the Hottentots must be regarded as a disappearing people. In the early days in the Cape, and more recently in Orange Free State and South-West Africa, disease and war contributed to diminish their numbers, but by far the most important factor of all has been miscegenation, which has taken place on a very extensive scale between them and the European settlers and other peoples. A large proportion of Hottentot blood is to be found in the people still commonly spoken of in the Cape as "Hottentots", as well as in the various communities of recognized half-breeds, such as the Griqua, the Rehoboth "Basters" and the Komaggas "Basters"; but Hottentots of pure blood are now in a marked minority, and there is no reason to doubt that they too will ultimately become absorbed into the "coloured" population of South Africa. Their native culture, where it has not been completely displaced, has at least been considerably affected by the intrusion of European elements, and, except in South-West Africa, their own language is also steadily giving way to Afrikaans.

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[1] *Report on the Administration of South-West Africa for* 1926 (U.G. 22–'27), p. 28.

[2] Quoted in *The South African Natives: Their Progress and Present Condition* (ed. by the S.A. Native Races Committee), London, 1908, p. 7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and B 301
iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring [439]
Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand.
The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands,
worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule B
kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of 302
the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters
of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of B
inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small [301]
ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who B
have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub 515
their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, 302
a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds
of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with [415]
powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of
jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often
painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women
and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours B
found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the [386]
latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is
smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original H
Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been 291
almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European 177
pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be
seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible
to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before
European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their
universal dress.[1] H

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in 291
front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied 281

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[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Mamaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

291 round the waist. The front apron of the men was a small piece of
jackal or wild cat skin, shaped somewhat like a pouch, with the fur
281 turned outwards, and barely sufficing to cover the genitals; while
from behind hung a large triangular piece of soft dried skin, with the
broad part downwards, which they would draw under them when
[415] they sat down. A simple little skin pouch was also tied to the waist-
belt to hold a few personal possessions, such as the pipe and tobacco.

The women wore a large triangular rear apron, two ends of which
were tied in front, while the third, hanging down behind, fully covered
the buttocks and reached down to the knees. From the knot in front
depended another apron, not quite so big; its lower part was cut
into long thin strips to form a fringe, and was variously decorated
with shells, beads, and other trinkets. Beneath this a smaller apron,
[834] not ornamented, was sometimes worn as well; it served more strictly
the ends of modesty, and was drawn beneath the legs when the women
sat down. A leather strap or sometimes a long string of perforated
[301 ostrich eggshell beads was also passed round the waist above the
415] aprons, and on this girdle were tied tortoise-shell boxes containing
powdered *buchu*.

The upper part of the body was generally left bare, but in wet
or cold weather a kaross was worn by both men and women. It
was made preferably of sheepskins or of several jackal or wild cat
skins sewn together with sinews, and was tied with a strap across the
breasts so as to hang over the shoulders. In winter the hairy side was
turned in, in summer it faced outwards.

[177] Nowadays all the men have European coats and trousers; only
the women, more conservative, sometimes still wear their old-
fashioned skin apron under a cotton or woollen petticoat and print
dress.

[481] Sandals of thick skin, tied round the ankle with thongs, were put
on for long marches. The women wore at all times a pointed skin
cap, and to this day Hottentot women always keep their heads covered,
[438] although now they prefer to use large coloured kerchiefs, which have
become one of the most common articles of trade with them. The men
generally went with their heads uncovered, although in wet or cold
[177] weather a sheepskin cap might be worn with the hairy side turned
inwards. Nowadays the broad felt hat is largely worn.

301 The style of ornament has equally changed. Both men and women
177 still carry small leather pouches hung round the neck, and containing
[415] the knife, pipe, tobacco, money, etc. Little horns, tortoise-shells,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But H 301
formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, 177
while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as
necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also
they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings,
which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when
they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by
people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their
hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire H
bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders. [439]

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no H
means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung 515
rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and 302
then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin
suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small H
receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on [415]
the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with
it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and
women also freely used *buchu*; the men powdered mainly the neck
and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept H
in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings [415
at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with 321]
only one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would
on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin;
and even to-day among the Naman the girls on such occasions still H
paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the [386]
powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was
no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of
the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all
sorts of small trinkets.

BODILY MUTILATIONS

Bushmen

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. B 304
Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, 856
as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the
Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men
and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

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[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 289; Arbousset, *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 493; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 329; G. Thompson, *Travels . . . in S. Africa*, i, 43.

576 speak to her directly; if he wishes to communicate with her, he must
593 ask another person to address her in his name, or in the absence of
anybody he says aloud, so that she can hear: "I wish that somebody
will tell my sister that I want a drink of milk," or whatever it is he
wishes to communicate to her. He must never be alone with her in
the hut, and he must never speak about her except in the most respectful
terms. The eldest sister, especially, is his *gei tàras*, his great respected
195 one. The highest oath a man can take is to swear by her: *ti !gās ao nu*,
576 as true as my sister is alive. If he should abuse this oath, she can walk
593 into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep. A sister can also be
generally relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother is taking
part. Even at the present time a man will not sleep in his sister's hut
when visiting her as a married woman. One of the most offensive
curses in Hottentot life, which will cause even the quietest man to
fly into a passion, is *sa !gāsa xae*, commit incest with your sister.

602 This attitude towards the sister is obligatory also on all the men
to whom she applies the relationship term *!gāb*, brother, even if
576 they are not her own brothers. Should one of these men use bad
195 language in her presence, she can demand a sheep from him with which
582 to purify herself of the pollution. Similarly a man must treat with
respect all the women whom he calls "sister". It would in the old
days have been a most heinous offence for a man to have married a
woman standing in this relationship to him. "It is an indication," says
[177] Mrs. Hoernlé, "of the complete transformation of the organization
of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and
European influence, that the marriage of direct cousins is now relatively
frequent."[1]

602 Quite different is the behaviour of a man to those women of his
own generation whom he calls *//núris*. They are his companions, his
playmates; and all is possible with them, free speech and horseplay.
Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong.
It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the
old days.[2]

604 The relationship between brother and sister also affects the relations
of children with their father's sister and mother's brother respectively.
The attitude of a woman to her brother's children is one of great
restraint; and, just as the father himself has to behave with much

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[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 22; Hahn, "Zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51; *idem, Tsuni-//Goam*, 20–1; von François, op. cit., 212; Schultze, op. cit., 320.

[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

Live Stock

231 The unsettled nomadic life of the Hottentots is occasioned primarily by the ever-present need of grass and water for their live stock. The domestic animals upon whose milk and flesh they depend so largely for their subsistence are cattle, sheep, and goats. The cattle seem originally to have been of the large, straight-backed, long-horned type (*Bos aegyptiacus*), still found among the native peoples in the Horn of East Africa. They have, however, become considerably modified through mixture with other breeds, especially those introduced from Western and Northern Europe by the Dutch and other settlers, so that the original type can no longer be clearly distinguished. The sheep were fat-tailed, with scraggy hair rather than wool, but here, as well as in the case of the goat, the type now also shows mingled characteristics, owing to intermixture with other breeds.[1]

231/177 It is a point of some interest, upon which Johnston comments, that the Hottentot root word for cattle, *goma-*, may possibly be derived from the Southern Bantu *-komo*, while *biri-*, for goat, may be the early Bantu *buri*, *budi*, and even the root *gu-*, for sheep, can be traced to a Bantu source. From this he argues that "obviously the goat first, then the ox and the sheep, were brought to them from the north by Bantu or Nilotic negroes".[2] This is certainly true of the goat, which was not originally owned by the Hottentots and only acquired by them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came into contact.[3] We know, however, that within historical times at least the Hottentots at the Cape had cattle and sheep long before they came into contact with the Bantu. All their traditions, moreover, indicate that their pastoral mode of life was developed before their ancestors came south. Whether they acquired their domestic animals from the Bantu in East Africa is a more debatable question. In the absence of definite historical evidence, the argument from philological resemblances may seem plausible. It must be remembered, however, that cattle and sheep as domestic animals were introduced into Africa by the Hamites, from whom even the Bantu got them[4]; and the undoubted Hamitic

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[1] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 255–6, 263; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 257, 264 sq., 266.

[2] "Man and Nature in South-West Africa," *Nature*, lxxvii (1908), 386.

[3] It may be noted in this connection that the usual Hottentot name for the BeChwana is *Birina*, i.e. goat people.

[4] Cf. Adametz, *Herkunft und Wanderungen der Hamiten, erschlossen aus ihren Haustierrassen*, 1920, *passim*.

affinities of the Hottentot languages would therefore incline one to 231
look for a direct Hamitic influence in respect of the domestic animals 177
also. A more careful historical study of the domestic animals of Africa than has yet been made is, however, necessary before this question can be settled. Any conclusions advanced without adequate historical support can only be regarded as hypothetical.

In the early days of the European settlement at the Cape the 231
Hottentots were extremely rich in cattle. Van Riebeeck, the founder
of the Dutch settlement, states, for example, that at times the land 178
around Table Bay was as thickly covered with cattle as with grass—an exaggeration which must have had at least some substantial basis. And in 1661 the Nama chief Akembie, living along the Olifants River, was described as having no fewer than 4,000 head of cattle and 3,000 sheep in his kraals.[1] In course of time the tribes bordering on the Dutch settlement gradually lost their herds through barter with the Europeans, but even in the first decades of the nineteenth century herds comprising hundreds of cattle and sheep were by no means a rarity. Ultimately, with the steady expansion of the Europeans, the Hottentots in the Cape became dispossessed of both their cattle and their land, and their pastoral life was perforce abandoned for one of service with white farmers. In South-West Africa the Naman remained a predominantly pastoral people until after the rebellion against the Germans, when the tribes were no longer allowed to keep "great stock", i.e. horned cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats. Here also the great majority of the people are now servants in the employ of the Europeans and no longer live independently with their herds. The old pastoral life has fallen more and more into decay, and at the present time is still practised by only a small proportion of them.

Every family among the independent Hottentots usually has its 231
own cattle, sheep, and goats. There are no common herds, although as a rule the families living together will pasture their animals in common. Everybody knows the animals he possesses, so that confusion is hardly likely to occur. The tendency noted by Schultze for a man to collect animals of the same colour, even bartering stock with others towards this end, probably renders discrimination still easier. Schultze mentions also that cattle are marked in special ways by cutting, perforating, or lopping the ears, but he does not state whether each owner has a distinctive mark of this sort. Nowadays each ox and cow

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[1] Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, i, 56.

231 description can be relied upon. The annual rain ceremony of the Naman, as we shall see, offers certain points of resemblance to it; but as there are also very considerable differences of detail the two ceremonies cannot be connected, unless we assume that the greater part of Kolb's description is either erroneous or, a criticism sometimes but not always justifiably advanced against him, fictitious.

In addition to cattle and sheep the Hottentots have from the earliest historical times also kept dogs. These are described by Schinz as of medium size, with short hair, long snouts, and drooping ears, and apparently allied in race to the Pariah dogs of the Near East. They are useful about the house and protect the cattle from wild beasts. They are easily familiarized with the herds by means of milk. They are also employed in the chase, especially against the jackal and hyena. They do not seem to be specially valued, however, and are never cared for properly.[1]

[177 492] From the Europeans the Hottentots have acquired the horse, which has now almost wholly superseded the ox for riding purposes. Fairly early in their old wars and raiding expeditions the horse already played an important rôle, and nowadays it is still largely used in hunting. Many of the horses, like the oxen, are allowed to range freely in the veld, where they generally keep to some favourite pasture ground. The fountain at the encampment is usually, however, the only place where they can drink for many miles round, and if wanted at any time they are easily caught when coming every other day or so for water. Or, should they not come to the fountain, as sometimes happens after rains have fallen and they can drink in the veld, their resort is generally known, and one man mounted can drive the troop home to the encampment. Mares in foal are carefully guarded, and are usually kept at night in the kraal, as a protection against the leopard and other wild beasts.[2]

HUNTING AND FISHING

Weapons and Methods

262 As the Hottentots rely upon their herds mainly for milk, cattle are seldom slaughtered for food, save on festive and ceremonial occasions, although all that die a natural death are eaten. The greater part of their meat supply the people obtain by hunting and

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[1] Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 90; Schultze, op. cit., 268.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 267; Ridsdale, op. cit., 84.

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114 by them, although the technological processes involved are dealt with to some extent by Kolb and more fully still by Schultze. But the social side of the industries—forms of work, economic motives, division of labour, and so on—has received hardly any attention at all. It is difficult therefore to give an adequate picture of the industrial activities of the Hottentots. This difficulty is increased by the fact that ever since contact with Europeans was established there has been a gradual substitution of European goods for native products, until at the present time the productive work of the Hottentots, where it is still carried on, has to a considerable extent acquired a new character.

594 The main economic unit in Hottentot life, as far as one can judge, is the family. Each family not only has its own herds and flocks, thus providing for the greater part of its subsistence, but in a large degree also manufactures the objects required for its domestic purposes. The construction of the huts, the making of whose mats is still an important native craft, has already been described. The other forms of industry may be grouped under the main heads of skin-dressing, netting, pottery, wood-carving, stone- and metal-work.

291 Before the Europeans came into the country, the skins of domestic
281 animals and game provided the sole material for the clothing of the
Hottentots, as well as for a number of other objects. Nowadays,
● [177] except perhaps in a few remote places, clothing is almost entirely of
European pattern and material, but skins are still used for other
[462] purposes. Among the Cape Hottentots, it would appear from Kolb's
account,[1] the preparation of skins was mainly the work of the men.
Skins used for making clothing, karosses, etc., were dressed by the
craftsman repeatedly rubbing into the fleshy side as much fat as possible,
and then beating them hard with the kirri, until they became quite
tough and smooth; or they were alternately rubbed with cowdung
and fat, and then carefully dried in the sun. They were then sewn
[412] together with sinews, generally taken from the back of an ox, the
pointed leg-bone of a bird being used as an awl. Ox hides were
either used for lining the hut, or cut into thongs with which objects
were bound on the backs of pack-oxen. To loosen the hair the fresh
skin was sprinkled with ashes and water, then rolled up and exposed
for a day or two to the heat of the sun, and after depilation it was
rendered supple by being rubbed in with fat. Finally, if required
for thongs, it was pegged out on the ground and cut into long strips
of about the same width by means of a sharp iron blade.

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[1] Op. cit., 110–12.

323 hole in the ground and burned by a fire around and inside it, till it was baked through and hard. Each family as a rule possessed several of these pots, for water and milk, and for cooking.[1]

322 Besides these pots the Hottentots also made wooden milk bowls and pails, dishes, and eating vessels. These are now largely replaced
[177] among the Naman by European hardware, but the craft is still kept up among the more independent families. There is no detailed description of the process of manufacture. Apparently the utensils are fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. All wood-carving is done by the men. The block of wood is shaped and smoothed on the outside with a knife, then hollowed out inside, partly by cutting and partly by boring, by means of a semicircular iron blade fixed in a wooden haft. Some of the milk pails in shape closely resemble the earthenware pots, even having ears of the same style for suspension. Wooden spoons, pestles and mortars, *!nara* drills, walking sticks and kirris are also made, and within recent times the more expert craftsmen, aided by new and better tools, have also begun to make tables, chairs, and bedposts for their household furniture.[2]

321 Spoons and *buchu* powder-boxes are made by the women from tortoise-shells, while the men cut the horns of animals into receptacles for fat, for odd substances used for medicinal and magical purposes, and for gunpowder, as well as into trumpets used for signalling in war. Formerly also the tusks of elephants were cut with a knife into rings used as armlets. The manufacture of stone implements
324 does not appear to have been practised at all by the Hottentots, at least within historical times. Whether they did so at one time we have no means of telling, but in the light of our present knowledge there is no good reason for assuming that, as in the case of the Bushmen, it is an art they have lost. The only work they do in stone is the cutting and boring of serpentine into pipes by means of a knife. We know also that they formerly used sharp flakes of quartz for making cuts on a person's body in some of their ceremonies, but there is nothing to indicate that these flakes were worked in any special way. Unworked stones are used to support the cooking pot over the fire, and a handmill is formed by a thin flat stone serving as a hearth on

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[1] Op. cit., 116–17; cf. Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 24–5.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 244–6; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 335; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 27.

which roots, coffee beans, *buchu* herbs, mineral substances, etc., 324
are ground down with a flat stone.[1]

What renders it unlikely that the Hottentots ever were a stone age 325
people is the fact that at the time when they came into contact with Europeans they already possessed the art of working in metal. The heads of their arrows and spears, their cutting instruments and other tools they fashioned from iron, while copper was worked into ornaments; and they were able to smelt the ore for themselves. The mode of smelting iron, according to Kolb, was as follows: A small mound of earth was heaped up, hollowed at the top, and a narrow channel dug vertically down the middle. A shallow basin was then made in the side of the mound, and connected by a hole to the vertical channel. Next a fire was lit in the hole at the top, and when the earth around it was thought well heated the ore was inserted. Then a large fire was made on top of the ore, and fed from time to time with additional fuel, until the iron melted and ran into the basin at the side. When cool it was taken out and broken up with hammers. It was finally beaten into shape, after heating, by means of stone hammers.[2]

How far this description can be relied upon is open to doubt. Kolb states that the same method of smelting was employed for copper ore, but in this, at least, he is contradicted by a more reliable authority. Roos and Marais describe the process as they witnessed it among the Naman. A crucible of clay containing the ore was placed on a fire made on a hearth of cowdung, about one foot in diameter and six inches high. Two bellows of goatskin with perforated gemsbok horn nozzles were inserted under the hearth, and by means of them the fire was kept glowing till the copper had melted. The liquid ore was then poured into finger-long moulds of cowdung, and in this way small copper bars of a standard shape made. These were beaten on a flat stone anvil with a stone hammer into rings and other objects.[3]

This method of smelting ore is common throughout Africa. The [171]
description is therefore probably more nearly accurate than that given by Kolb. It must also be noted, however, that it is about fifty years later in time, and refers to the Naman, who by then were already 325
in close contact with the Bantu peoples. The possibility of borrowing 177
therefore cannot be eliminated, especially as we are told that the

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[1] Schultze, op. cit., 247–8; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 22.
[2] Op. cit., 117–8.
[3] "Rapport aan den Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 57.

325 Great Namaqua tribes obtained most of their copper from the Litt
177 Namaqua to the south, and the BeChwana to the east. And Wika
● states that the Naman preferred not to work their own metal, bu
326 hired Herero smiths to come and work iron and copper into bea
439 for them, paying them an ewe as a daily wage.[1] Certainly in th
eighteenth century the Naman only worked metal in very sma
quantities, obtaining almost all their iron and copper implement
and ornaments by barter from the OvaHerero and BeChwana
Among the Cape Hottentots also the production of these metals wa
so limited even in the seventeenth century that the Dutch from th
first did an active trade with them in copper and iron goods. Sinc
then the ease with which European metal wares, superior in every wa
to those of native production, could be obtained, has caused th
old native craft of smelting ore to disappear completely. At th
present time the raw material, in the form of iron, wire, copper, an
more rarely tin, is all obtained from Europeans. It is then fashione
by the men into such ornaments as armbands, rings, and earrings
which are often decorated with incised rows of dots or lines of zigzag
chevron or fishbone pattern.[2]

Division of Labour

462 In these industrial occupations, as well as in the other economic activities, there appears to be no fixed division of labour, save as between the two sexes, and most of the work is for purely domestic purposes. The husband supervises the herding and pasturing of the cattle and the movements of the family from place to place, although where a number of families live together both activities may be regulated by the men in common. The men also hunt, here again either singly or more often in company. They do all the work in wood and metal, make their own powder-horns and pipes, etc. The women complete the huts, after the men have erected the framework, milk the cattle, seek edible roots and berries in the veld, prepare the food, see to water and firewood, and look after the huts. They also make the reed mats for the huts, were formerly the potters, grind *buchu* and mineral powder, and so on. The preparation of skins, finally, is the work of both men and women; the former also make the skin bags, thongs, and lashes, while the latter cut and sew most of the clothing, karosses, and skins for the floor.

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[1] Op. cit., 97.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 248–51.

Cape Hottentots

CHAPTER XII

REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

642 LIKE most other aspects of their culture, the political organizati
177 of the Hottentots in recent times shows to a considerable extent t
signs of Dutch influence. For information as to their original for
of government we must therefore refer mainly to the accounts
the earlier writers. Here, again, our principal authority is Kol
who describes the political institutions of the Cape Hottentots mo
fully and explicitly than does any other observer.

643 He states[1] that at the head of every tribe there was a chief, *kouq*
or *khoeque*, whose office was hereditary in the male line. The norm
619 heir to the chieftainship was the eldest son of the ruling chief. Failin
622 a son, the office passed to the nearest male relative, such as a broth
or a brother's son, but never to a daughter. The new chief at h
accession had to pledge himself before an assembly of the "captains
of the tribe to preserve all the old laws and traditions of the peopl
and not to interfere with any established rights and prerogative
[574] He had also to slaughter a couple of sheep or an ox as a feast for th
"captains". Only these men and himself ate of the meat, while th
broth was given to their wives. On the following day or on som
suitable occasion a similar feast was provided by his wife for th
wives of the captains. This time the meat was eaten by the wome
and the broth given to their husbands. There is no other record o
any installation ceremony connected with the chieftainship, so tha
the accuracy of Kolb's statements in this respect cannot be vouched fo

643 The functions of the chief were apparently purely political. H
619 led the army in war, he conducted the negotiations of peace, and h
presided over the tribal council. The latter was the real governin
622 body of the tribe. It consisted of the "captains" or headmen o
645 all the different local groups constituting the tribe, and was summone
by the chief to his residence whenever any matter of public importanc
arose. It dealt with all such questions as peace and war, dispute

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[1] *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 42–4; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika'*
321–2.

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autonomous petty rulers naturally tended to accentuate the feeling of 618
independence. At the same time it also gave the "captain" a more 619
prominent position as an individual than he really seems to have 622
occupied in the original conditions of native life.

As Kolb's description also brings out, the whole conduct of public 643
affairs was the concern of the adult men generally, and, as appears 642
from the descriptions of other writers, of the older men in particular. The chief, by virtue of his hereditary status, was the recognized head of the community, but his authority was circumscribed and precarious, and he could not act without consulting his council. It seems indeed, that in most cases he must be looked upon as the political representative rather than as the actual ruler of the tribe. There is nothing in the literature to indicate that he had any other special functions. Neither Kolb nor any other writer records any important religious or magical ceremonies which the chief had to perform on behalf of the tribe, any definite prohibitions or obligations regulating the relations between him and his subjects, or any ritual performances or taboos to which he was specially subjected. The sacred character often associated with the chieftainship in primitive society does not appear to have existed among the Hottentots.

The political organization of the Naman was in all probability 642
originally the same as that of their southern relatives. But by the 177
beginning of the nineteenth century, from which time onwards most of the relevant literature dates, the old form of government among the Orlams was being slowly altered into a crude modification of the system developed by the Dutch at the Cape. The influence of these incoming groups, and to some extent also of the missionaries, gradually affected the form of political institutions in the other Nama tribes as well. The system of tribal control found among them within recent years, although based upon the old native system, can therefore by no means be regarded as representing that system in its original form. It is nevertheless of considerable interest as illustrating the grafting of European elements upon Hottentot organization, and since it is in any case an integral part of the tribal life it cannot be ignored. The information bearing upon it is also more detailed and accurate than that relating to the Cape Hottentots, which it serves to supplement in several respects.[1]

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[1] The principal sources are: Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 102–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 218–21; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 357–9; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72–4, 76 and *passim*; cf. also Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 33–4; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 24; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 322–4; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 321; Vedder, "The Nama," 142.

their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them."[1] And Hahn likewise states that the ghosts are believed to leave their graves on dark nights and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. "This kind of spectres go by the special name of */hausan*. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death."[2] 775

Biden and Kling record the same belief in a somewhat different form as it occurs among the disorganized Hottentots of Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, which at the same time has certain additional points of interest.[3] For a few weeks after the death the male relatives of the deceased go to the grave every morning before sunrise, quite naked, and pray to the *thas* (ghost). The idea of visiting the grave in a nude state is that the ghost cannot catch them! They talk to the grave and sprinkle *buchu* leaves on it, and beseech the ghost to do them no harm and to leave them undisturbed at night time. After a month or so they suppose that the ghost has left the grave, and has entered an animal called by them "*thas* jackals".[4] They say that this animal—"the house of the ghosts of the deceased people"—leaves its shelter at night time only, and glides along the ground like a shadow; no one has ever actually seen it, but it is described as having a very large head. They believe it to be very strong and immortal, and no attempt has ever been made to kill it. It has never been caught, and another belief, distinctly traceable to contact with the early Dutch colonists, says that it can only be killed with a silver bullet. When the animal at night makes a noise, "tha . . . tha . . . tha . . .", the people cover themselves with their karosses; and if they happen to be at their evening meal when this noise is heard, each throws some food backwards in order to satisfy the animal, so that no harm may come to them. The cry of this "*thas* jackals" is said to be much louder than that of any other nocturnal animals. [292 782] [777] ●

It may be noted in connection with this belief that, according to Olpp, the Naman of South-West Africa maintain that a certain little animal, called */has*, stands in close rapport with certain people. As soon as these people quarrel with anybody, it comes along unseen, and throws dust against the enemy, at the same time crying shrilly *há-há-há*.[5] This is obviously the animal referred to by Biden and

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[1] Loc. cit.
[2] Op. cit., 85.
[3] Op. cit., 224-5.
[4] The word "jackals" (jackal) is, of course, taken over from the Dutch.
[5] Op. cit., 32.

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though destroyed in this way *//Gaunab* comes alive again, and one 773
form of the myth tells the story as though the fight were an annual 776
one. The name *//Gaunab* is nowadays translated by "Devil", and
owing to missionary influence has exactly this significance for the [177]
natives; but Hahn derives it from *//gau*, to destroy, annihilate, and
therefore interprets it as "the destroyer, the one who annihilates."[1]

It is difficult to arrive at a complete picture of what the Hottentots 776
originally understood by *//Gaunab*, especially as the information relating to him is rather scanty. Graevenbroeck says of the Cape Hottentots that they believed in a first forefather *Khourrou* or *Thikkwa*, and a god of the underworld *Damoh*.[2] Valentijn, who had access to Graevenbroeck's manuscript, enlarges somewhat on the latter being. The Hottentots, he says, spoke of a "Spectre whom they feared very much, Somsoma", as well as of *Dangoh* or *Damoh*, "a Devil, a black chief, who does much harm to them; they avoided speaking of him, as he often persecuted them, but in carefully examining this, it is nothing but their somsomas and spectres."[3] *Dangoh* or *Damoh*, Vedder suggests, "is evidently an attempt to spell the word *//Gauab*."[4] The linguistic identification seems rather far-fetched, but at least the attributes *Dangoh* has in Valentijn's description definitely connect him with *//Gaunab*.

Kolb uses the word *Gounia* for "God, or the Great Chief", and also mentions "another chief, somewhat lesser in power, called *Touquoa*, from whom some of them had learned witchcraft; he never does good to the people, but always harm. They must, therefore, fear him, show respect to him, and serve him. This they do by slaughtering in his honour sometimes a sheep, sometimes also a fat ox, whenever they perceive that great misfortune is threatening them."[5] It is evident, from what has already been said, that Kolb has confused the two names, and that the attributes he ascribes to *Touquoa* (*Tsui //Goab*) really belong to *Gounia* (*//Gaunab*). This appears also from a curt statement by the missionary, George Schmidt, about the Hessequa: "They have no religion or rites, and they believe only that there is a supreme Lord over all, whom they call Tui'qua. They believe also in a devil, to whom they give the name Gauna, but they do not care much about him."[6] Wikar, again,

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[1] Hahn, op. cit., 125; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 519.

[2] "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 369.

[3] Loc. cit.

[4] "The Nama," 130.

[5] Op. cit., 52–3; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 41–2.

[6] "Reise nach dem Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung," 273.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Nama

Bushmen FX10

B H 771 171 776 821

abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, ood, recovery from illness, etc.

B H 771 171 776 821 177

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor as it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, owever, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of ;*Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root //*gami*, " water, " nd whom he regards as " originally the god of the rising clouds and f thunder and fountains ". //*Gamab* is the only supernatural being of vhom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, bundance of food, etc., and he lives in " heaven " in a village where e gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama race out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment f death till its arrival in //*Gamab's* village, and the life led there is ninutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series f beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of ergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western ushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, ne feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a sky dwelling " to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely ttributed to Bergdama influence.

B H 771 171 881

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' uberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected ith these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, d one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern ushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

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[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq.; *idem*, " The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

hands, to take up the melody, while the men forming into line range 533
themselves against the Witboois and in a crouching posture continue
playing on their reed pipes. The Witboois also form into line, and 535
send forward a messenger, who advances and then returns, always playing on his pipe and hopping up and down. Next one of the red-hatted men, representing Jan Jonker, dances up to the Witboois, and, still blowing on his pipe, shakes several of them by the hand. Meanwhile a Witbooi in the same manner circles round the group of women, representing the cattle, and after inspecting them all returns o his party. Now the murder of Jan Jonker is enacted, so too his men dancing up to his aid are massacred, and finally the Witboois lance away with the plundered cattle and women. The whole dance, vith its wealth of action and skilful performance, is a most interesting llustration of the imitative talent of the Hottentots and their fertile magination. In this respect, at least, they equal the Bushmen, even lthough they have not the grand masquerade dances performed y the latter.

Dancing itself without music and song is seldom practised, but 533
inging without musical accompaniment is common.[1] Most of he songs are based on actual incidents affording a suitable theme; thers are love songs; and Hahn mentions still another type, known s *gares*, which Hottentot mothers or nurses are in the habit of xtemporizing in praise of a child while washing or anointing it.[2] The verbal text of these songs is generally very simple in character, nd not always rigidly fixed. When singing in chorus, individuals vill often add motives of their own to the text, which after shorter r longer intervals they always repeat anew with slight variations. ut they are able in doing so to weave their motive harmoniously,
nto the melody of the other singers. Nowadays the songs are often [177]
hurch hymns or popular Dutch folk ditties, and the reed pipes are ften replaced by the mouth organ or concertina, but the musical ense of the people is as lively as ever, and they find their principal ecreation in its exercise.

KNOWLEDGE OF DISEASE AND DOCTORING

The Hottentots on the whole do not enjoy robust health. The 147
ender body, often weakened by inadequate and irregular food, ncleanliness, excessive indulgence in alcohol and tobacco, and rivations of all sorts, has little power of resistance. The early writers

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[1] Schultze, op. cit., 381–3.

[2] Op. cit., 107, 28–9,

The early writers
164 speak of sore breasts, ophthalmias, and umbilical hernias as the common
177 diseases, and coughs appear to have been frequent. After the advent
of the white man, smallpox, measles and less cleanly diseases swept
the country like plagues. An epidemic of smallpox in 1713 totally
wiped out many of the Cape Hottentot groups, and greatly weakened
the numerical strength and organization of others; a similar outbreak in 1755 again decimated them, and to add to their woes leprosy
attacked them; while in 1864 large numbers of Naman died from
smallpox. At the present time, syphilis, another infection due to the
white man, is widespread among them; tuberculosis, fevers, paralysis,
ophthalmias, and chicken-pox are other common diseases, while during
the cold season they catch severe colds, and, like all the other
inhabitants of South Africa, they suffered heavily in the influenza
pandemic of 1918.[1]

753 All maladies, says Mrs. Hoernlé,[2] are divided by the Hottentots
757 into two groups. First there is /*aisena*, "sickness," which they regard
as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to
[826] their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering
about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ
to its proper place; and in such massage the Hottentots are very
highly skilled. The other group of diseases is called by the same name
as death, *ǂop*, and in the treatment of these a great variety of herbs
and roots is employed. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable
that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, although
among the herbs found in any particular territory there are always
[759] some which may serve as substitutes. But however powerful the
remedy may be, if it is to be effective it must always be applied by
someone who has had the disease and recovered. The most effective
medicine will fail unless used by the right person.[3]

757 The principal diseases described to Mrs. Hoernlé as receiving
784 this latter treatment are //*autas*, paralysis, //*keis*, "fever," *ǂurub*,
783 varicose veins, and !*nomis*, lupus. Any man falling sick from any
one of these or the other diseases called *ǂop* becomes !*nau*, and the
treatment adopted to cure him is exactly similar to that described
in the remarriage ceremony. The patient is secluded in a hut, and

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[1] Laidler, "The Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 433; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, 431 ff., iii, 28, 36 ff.; Nolte, "Krankheiten . . . der Nama," 630; Schinz, op. cit., 99; von François, op. cit., 215–16; Schultze, op. cit., 227; *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 8; 983–6 *passim*.

[2] "Conception of !nau among the Hottentots," 77–9.

[3] Cf. Schultze, op. cit., 213.

The just-emerging, hardly yet visible crescent is called *ǂkxam//kxāb*, *ǂkxam* meaning " unripe " in the same sense as it is used to denote a premature fruit. The slender, shining crescent, in which as it were the moon " revives ", is called by a name with that significance, *!gãgo //kxāb*. The first two quarters have two names common to both of them, *gai-//kxãgaira //kxāb*, " the moon which becomes great or old (*gai*)," and *gaaira //kxāb*, " the moon which becomes wise (*gãai*)." In the last quarter only the slender crescent is distinguished, as " the dying moon ", *//ōra //kxāb*. 805 821

With the gradual adoption of the European calendar, the Hottentot series of months has fallen into decay. The list of months, their order and the other statements given by Schultze come from an old Nama woman, but he is not quite sure that the ideas of the Europeans had not already influenced the number of months and their succession. He refers to another list in Kroenlein's dictionary, which has only nine names. Kroenlein's February corresponds to his January; but it is only in the position of the name for July, which Schultze claims for October, that the two lists differ to any extent. The twelve months of the Hottentots and the approximately-corresponding months of the European calendar are as follows :— 805 [197]

I. (January) *ǂkxoesao //kxāb*, " the moon which follows upon the *ǂkxoe* (*Salsola*) bush," an important pasture bush having its principal flowering season in spring.
II. (February) *gama /aēb*, not translated.
III. (March) *!kxai tsāb*, " when it begins to be cold."
IV. (April) *ǂgoro /nūseb*, explained by several old Hottentots as the month of increasing cold, when one sits so near the fire that " the legs blister ".
V. (May) *ǂnu //kxāsa*, the " black month," comes in the time of drought, when the black branches of the stripped bushes give the landscape this character.
VI. (June) */hai //kxāsa*, not translated.
VII. (July) */kxu //kxāsa*, " the month of the Pleiades," which become visible in the latter half of June.
VIII. (August) *hōarib*, not translated.
IX. (September) *!hoa ǂgaeb*, the month " when the leaves are curled up " by the cold.
X. (October) *gai !kxani*, not translated.
XI. (November) */goa !kxani*, not translated.
XII. (December) */ho ǂgaeb*, named from the fact that when, after the first productive rains upon the old and withered grass, the fresh young green shoots up, the meadows, *ǂgaeb*, appear to be dappled, */ho*.

The smallest unit of time to the Hottentots is the day, *tsēs*, and the night, *tsūxub*. The length of a journey is always spoken of in terms of days and nights. Within the day they distinguish not lengths of time but only parts of the day. They can, however, express with great certainty and clearness both points and duration of time, by referring to the sun. Of the hours of the day, only noon, *tsē !gāb*, is brought into prominence, and similarly the only point of 805 821

805 night distinguished is midnight, *tsũxub !gãb*, " the back of the night."
821 On the other hand the limits of day and night, are elaborately marked out. They distinguish morning and evening twilight, *//goa !aroam* and *!uitsũxubab* respectively; morning brightness, i.e. the time of clear day shortly after sunrise, which is named *!kxai //goagab*, because about dawn (*//goab*) it is usually most perceptibly cold (*!kxai*), and evening brightness, */aba /hobob*, the " red twilight ". " Little children's twilight," *‡kxam-/goa-/hobob*, is in some places the name given to the first noticeable diminution of light after sunset, in accordance with the belief that at this hour most children (*/goan*) are born. Afternoon, */uiab*, and morning, *//goagab*, are only approximate. Finally, a distinction is made between evening, *!uib*, and late evening, *!oes*, which extends till long after sunset.

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177 The division of time into weeks was first learned by the Hottentots from the Europeans. As calendar for marking the days of the week they use a thin flat piece of wood, about 10 cm. long and 2 cm. wide, through which seven holes are burned. To the one end is fastened a leather string, whose lower end is inserted down the row into one of the holes, each of which marks a special day of the week. The upper end of the string is used by the women for fastening the calendar to their necklaces, whereas the men prefer to carry the calendar in their hatbands. This primitive calendar is called *bekgye hais*, " week wood," the first word being taken from the Dutch *week*.

CERTAIN RITES OF TRANSITION AND THE CONCEPTION OF !NAU AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS[1]

A. W. Hoernlé

114 101 The following notes have been put together from the materials which I collected during the years 1912 and 1913 on two expeditions made among three different tribes of Hottentots. In 1912 I visited the remnants of certain tribes of the Little Namaqua, among whom some fugitives from the tribe of !Gamí-≠nũn or Bondelzwaarts of German South West Africa were living. It was a very scattered community on the southern bank of the Orange River, about fifty miles inland from its mouth, and in British territory.

The following year I spent among the ≠Ăunin or Topnaars of Walfish Bay and among the /Hei /Khauan, who live now in the territory round Berseba in German South West Africa. This latter tribe crossed the Orange River in the beginning of the 19th century, after its members had absorbed a great deal from the Dutch among whom they had lived, and with whom there had been a considerable amount of intermixture. As a result of
[177] the mixed blood and the adoption of many Dutch ways, the pure Hottentot customs and beliefs had been considerably modified among them. They are an offshoot from the Cauquas, who in the time of Simon Van der Stel (17th century) lived in the present Worcester district of the Cape Colony in the valleys of the Breede River,[2] and belong therefore to the so-called Colonial Hottentots, not to any branch of the Namaqua people with
[796] whom the other tribes I visited must be classed. It is, therefore, extremely interesting to find that all four of the transition rites (*rites de passage*) which I am about to describe in this paper are practised by them with but slight variations. Whether they brought these customs with them, or whether they adopted them from the tribes with which they came in contact when they crossed the Orange River in their progress northwards, it is impossible to say. The ≠Ăunin, though but a miserable remnant of what was never,

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[1] In this paper I have used, as far as possible, the notation employed by J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889. /, indicates the dental click; ≠ the palatal; ! the cerebral; // the lateral. χ indicates a guttural *ch;* the mark ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ˜ indicates that it is nasalised. A short vowel has no special sign; ` represents the low tone of the vowel; ´ the middle tone; ˝ the high one. The sign ̥ under a vowel indicates that it is very short; while ¨ indicates that the vowel is to be separately pronounced.

[2] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, London, 1881, p. 19.

house is free so that anyone can come in"). The girl is now ready to receive visits as an 881
ŏaχais, that is, a young marriageable woman. All her relatives and friends pour in, each one with some present of beads, or earrings, or other finery. A great deal of this is [431]
loaned only and is returned later. The girl shines with clean, well-greased skin. She is scented all over with the sáp which she and her girl friends have ground. Her face is [302]
painted in curious patterns with !naop and *!quasab* ("ground white stone"), and her body is loaded with her presents. Then it is that the little boys, even up to sixteen years and more,[16] come into the hut from which they have up to now been excluded, and go in to the newly made ŏaχais. She takes her *!úros àms* ("powder puff") full of sáp and rubs their testicles (*≠karàn*). This ensures fertility and is a protection against sexual disease. [842
The full expression for this custom is *!úros àms /a /nara* ("to rub gently with a powder 751]
puff"). Nowadays the saying is that until the boys have been rubbed, it is too dangerous for them to eat any of the meat prepared for the girl, and the younger ones especially go eagerly in, so that they may join in the feast. Some of the youths, according to Hannah, prefer to go without the meat, and none of my witnesses had ever seen grown-up men take part. It looks as though the custom were gradually dying out.

The feasting reaches its climax on this day. Female animals, both ewes and heifers, are killed, cooked, and eaten. It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in these [231
ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This is probably due to the fact that 177]
originally the Hottentots owned no goats, and only acquired them quite late from the Bantu tribes with whom they came in contact.

Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out. She must leave the 881
hut by the special door which has been made for her at the back.[17] Her friends surround 535
her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths start the reed dance, and the girls dance round them with the ŏaχais in their midst. Gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as a partner, and in the end her shyness gives way. In these Hottentot dances the men form the inner ring, the women the outer one, and every now and then there is a change of partners somewhat like the English game of Jolly Miller. During the dancing the ŏaχais throws sáp over the men and boys as she sees them. This is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing lasts often right through the night, and when it is over, the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, freeing her, as it were, from the spell under which she has been living.

The abá tarás must accompany the ŏaχais in all these rites, but often her friends go 881

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[16] According to T. Hahn, in olden days, all but extremely old men took part in this ceremony. Cf. also L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, Jena, 1907, p. 296. [177]

[17] A corpse is also taken out by a special door made for the purpose at the back of the hut.

764 which is placed in front of the dead man's house. In the old days they wailed and
[177] writhed in lamentation. Nowadays they sing hymns. In Berseba where a man died
late in the afternoon, hymns were sung right through the night and all the morning until
the burial by the missionary took place. Meantime the man's relatives slaughter animals
according to their means, and collect the blood separately into one or more pots. The
entrails are collected in other pots, and the meat in yet others; all the different families
[278] who are taking part providing pots. The blood is heated to boiling point, and the herb
called //gànab is mixed in with it. A chopper, *!ôp*, which has been heated red hot is
[412] then stirred round in it to make the steam rise. The immediate relatives of the man[31] —
men, women, and children — collect round the pots and cover their heads with their skins
[302] so that they perspire (*ausẹn*). Then an old man, who is related neither to the man nor to
the woman, takes potblack and makes a line on the stomach of each person — "to prevent
their getting pains from eating the food", says !Amatis. The sweating is done in the dead
person's hut, and so is the putting on of the black line and the eating. The relatives eat
only of the flesh, other members of the kraal eating the entrails, while the blood can be
used only by the officiating person and others of like age. In Berseba I was told that the
line on the stomach was made with the blood, not with the potblack. Some informers
say the sweating is done in the hut, others say outside. Unfortunately in the cases which
I witnessed myself the people were too badly off to have meat at all, and there was simply
[593] coffee drinking. The widow takes no part in these rites at all. "She doesn't belong to
the man's family", one informant said indignantly when I asked.

768 How long the widow remained !nau, I do not know. One informant says, "Even to
this day, after the death of a husband, or child, a woman won't use cold water for a few
days". But the cleansing is often done immediately after the burial. Formerly, according
to Gottlief and others, it was done sometime after the burial when the hut had been
rebuilt in another spot. Other remarks show that even now some time may elapse between
the burial and the cleansing, for another informant tells me that if a widow were obliged
for some reason to go from the shore in Walfish Bay to an inland settlement, she would
[784] on no account take the path through the valuable !naras plants, but would go by the
desert path where no vegetation of any sort is to be found.

During the interval, whether it be long or short, the widow must not touch uncooked
meat or cold water, go among the cattle, or handle the pots. She is tended by one
or more elderly widows, not relatives of either man or wife, who take her through the
purification rites when the time comes. First she is cleaned from head to foot with ≠houp
[278] or, on the Orange River, with a brew made from a species of euphorbia, or, in Walfish

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[31] None of the woman's relatives take part in this ceremony.

175 177 At the present day some of these tribes are extinct; that is to say, the tribal unity is totally destroyed, though one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one or other of these tribes. But even where there is still a small remnant of people holding together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as a headman, or chief, the whole culture and power of the Nama is hopelessly destroyed. The history of all these tribes for the last 150 years has been one of incessant strife, first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the incoming of the tribes from the south; next with the Hereros, a Bantu tribe advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contract with the Germans and never fought against them.

144 All the tribes, further, have a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans. The generation which is growing up to-day in the Protectorate is practically all of mixed blood.

161 With regard to the numbers of these people, it is extremely hard to give any trustworthy figures. Palgrave, who was sent up to Namaqualand as a Special Commissioner by the Cape Government in 1876, to report on whether it was advisable for that government to assume responsibility for the territory, gives the figures of the various tribes as follows.[6] The figures are approximate: *Gei //Khauan* 2,500, *≠Aunin* 750, *//O Gein* 800, *//Khau /Goan* 1000, *//Haboben* 1800, *!Khara Gei Khoin* 800, *!Gami ≠Nun* 2000, Africaners 800, Witboois 2500, Bethany Hottentots 2000, Berseba Hottentots 700, Gobabis Hottentots 600. Altogether, with a few groups not known to-day, the number in 1876 was 16,850. In 1921, the census returns estimated a population of 20,000 people called Hottentots,[7] but there was no attempt to discriminate the pure blooded from those of mixed

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[6] Report of W. Coates Palgrave, Esq., of his Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876. Cape Town: Printed by Saul Solomon & Co., 1877. [G. 50-'77]. p. 94.

[7] *Cf.* Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922, p. 10. [U. G. 21-1923].

601 son. In the feminine form, */Uis*, it applies to the wife's mother and the son's wife when a man is speaking. It applies to the husband's mother, the son's wife, the husband's sister, and the brother's wife when a woman is speaking.

The husbands of two sisters call each other */Gámireb* or */Gámeb*. The wives of two brothers call each other */Gámes*.

!Oaras is a term sometimes used for the son's wife when a man is speaking. It is a general term applied to women who have married into the sib.

582 177 184 Practically all the old regulations with regard to marriage have broken down among the Hottentots. Marriage with any first cousin is now permitted, though on the other hand the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross cousins. There is a difference here from tribe to tribe, some of them being more influenced by European contacts than others but the tendency in all is the same. All my older informants are agreed that the marriage of direct cousins was out of the question in the old days. With regard to the cross cousins there is some difference between the tribes. In some of them, e.g., the *//Haboben*, the *Gei //Khauan*, the *//Khau /Goan*, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the father's sister's daughter. The terminology for these relatives seems however to show that in the past marriage with both the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was allowed, and the behavior towards these relatives confirms this. In addition, I have illustrations of both kinds of cross cousin marriage in genealogies.

602 [585] *The duties and privileges of relatives.* The chief consideration in the behavior of Nama to one another is the relative ages of the people concerned. Respect for age is inculcated in every possible way, and the whole social organization of the people is an illustration of the fact. In the family deference and respect must always be paid to elders. Thus, of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honored place and the first voice in any debate. Family feeling is strong, however, and brothers generally hold together. The behavior proper to brothers is due to all those people called by the name "brother," and little difference is made by the fact

NAMA

According to statistical returns the Nama tribe numbers 161
21,000 souls. Half a century ago their number was estimated 178
at 10,000. It is thought that the Nama do not belong to
the tribes which are becoming extinct, for their disposition
enables them to change their mode of life from a nomadic
one to an industrial and settled one with more ease than is
the case with the Herero.

IV. Mode of Living and Culture.

1. The oldest form of Nama hut is the dome. In order to 342
construct such a dome-shaped hut they bend moderately thick
wooden poles and erect these in a circle 3-4 metres in diameter,
driving them into the ground surprisingly quickly by means
of a stick made for that purpose. When every hole is furnished
with a pole, these are bent inwards evenly and
fastened together by means of leather straps; then poles of
the same thickness are tied horizontally round this trestle.
Rush matting is now placed over the trestle and fastened [361]
to it. As according to the arrangement of the huts their
villages exhibit a circular formation, an opening in the hut
—towards the inside of the village—is left uncovered so as
to serve as an entrance. This opening may be closed by
means of a piece of rush-matting which just fits into it and
is fastened to a cross-pole suspended about three feet high,
which can be rolled up and fastened or let down. In a
minimum of time such a hut can be pulled down, packed on
an ox and erected at the new site in a day. It has this
advantage too that it is very airy and yet protective against
the inclemency of the weather, as the rush swells with the
first drops and practically entirely shuts out the rain. The
rush hut is just the ideal residence for a nomadic tribe with
no fixed abode.

These huts have become rare in the present day as rush 342
is not often obtainable. Instead of rush they now use 177
sacking, pieces of tin they have picked up, etc. The building
of four-cornered huts with one or even two rooms made of
wood or corrugated sheet-iron is becoming more and more
popular.

2. The furniture consists of the so-called "Katel," a 352
wooden frame with a network of leather straps connecting 177
the four sides, used as a bed. In olden times their bed was
merely a slight excavation in the floor of the house, but the
more comfortable bedsteads of the white man appealed to
them. Tables and chairs are not unusually found in the
Nama huts, but it very seldom happens that a woman is
found sitting on a chair. It is the privilege of the men to
make themselves comfortable on the low little wooden chairs
with seats made of leather thongs. The visitor to a neighbour
for a little chat often carries his chair with him or has
it carried by one of the children.

415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in
earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots
of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag,"
however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoiseshell
of which the opening at the back as well as the two
openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel
with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
[302] In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising
a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which
they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of
perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this
powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap
from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their
other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the
women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking
water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which,
however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets
and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture
the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For
eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted.
It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want
of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it
from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a
clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then
closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had
the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the
face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and
girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other
occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco
276 pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of
411 serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club
is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with
177 the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone
days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who
wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether
the Nama are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful
utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture
than is absolutely necessary.

463 3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely
be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone
makes for himself what his household requires. They make
283 cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are
used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
326 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
177 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from
000 copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baskets

797 strange clicks and other sounds were mostly by means of the
776 letters of the Latin alphabet without the aid of new signs.
One who knows the Nama language is still able to find his way in spite of the fact that their way of writing now bears the character of the Dutch, then the French and again the German spelling.

797 2. Dango or Damoh is evidently an attempt to spell the
776 word //Gauab. //Gauab still represents an evil spirit
177 amongst the Nama to-day. This name is used for "devil"
171 in the Christian literature of the Nama. But it is not im-
possible that this name could have been the name of their God, as the Bergdama, who adopted the Hottentot language when they were their servants, still call the Supreme Being //Gamab, and the Bushmen of the Saan tribe who stand in close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure and language are concerned, call God //Gaunab. It might be due to the influence of Christian ideas that the heathen god of the Hottentots was re-named "devil," which is quite in line with the missionary and generally Christian views of the time. But Khouron seems to be an attempt to write the Nama word !Khub in French spelling. This word means "Master" in its broadest sense, and it is still the common custom to call God by this name.

773 Tiqua, Tuqua, Tui-Lqua, Cukoab, etc., is nothing else but
776 Tsui-//Goab, which to-day is still much used and well-known
in exclamations and oaths. This word must be translated by "wounded knee," and reminds us of an old tribal hero, known by many African tribes, who was wounded in his knee in a struggle against an enemy. Huma evidently means the cloudless sky and Summa or Somsoma will then be the Shadow which they still fear to this day.

3. Out of this confusion of old reports the name Tsui-//Goab = wounded knee, needs special mentioning. Myth has made this tribal hero a god, probably attributing to him the qualities of //Gamab = the devil. He is ubiquitous and they take oaths by him, thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they are accustomed to use his name in the form of the exclamation "Tsui-//Goatse!". Amongst the Koranna the tradition still is that Tsui-//Goab has been a renowned chief of their tribe.

On certain occasions Tsui-//Goab is worshipped openly. The prayers to him point out plainly that he is regarded as the God of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

789 If the rain stayed away for a long time they tried to bring
782 it about magically by the following process. A cattle-
owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the

by their names. In their communications they have titles of 593
honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have 551
succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown
to the Nama before. These family names are derived from
the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers
and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names
of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the [619]
Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them
by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis,
Afrikaner, etc., etc.

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted 291
of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in
front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin
which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the
right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a
bag for the gatherer of veld-kos.

At present both men and women go clad in European [177]
clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero
women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the
wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted
any permanent national dress for the women and girls.

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they 302
have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, [515]
although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of
soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found.

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with
"buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a
great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, [841]
and there are still women who hideously paint their faces [843]
with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation,
or early pregnancy and on cold winter days.

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has 574
in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares
in the first place with his family and also with strangers.

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been [576]
obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants
who labour for Europeans and receive their food there
are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it
with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama
custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so
that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the
benefit of it and not strangers.

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is 571
his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at 535
night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of [521]
the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night.
The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly
singing their songs and hymns. They still take great
pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On

571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
535 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances,
clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet.
Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their
feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses,
and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy
do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender
body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has
no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch
[164] severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand
many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves
when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this
[145] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty
consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are
758 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have
lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in
hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin
764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep,
● 177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in
far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally
been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

197 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. Ol. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1868, writes about it as follows:—

differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, 197
until after closer examination one discovers that these
differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at
spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama
language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin,
to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention.

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged 197
from the language and its grammatical construction as well 153
as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain
mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion
drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive
us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more
closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and
most capable of development of all the tribes in South Africa.

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by 177
missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables 538
treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever 153
superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible
situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European
fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular
with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own
works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted
as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is
similar to the cunning of the jackal.

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary 538
products in his detailed work on " Namaland and Kalahari ";
but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been
collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess
about a hundred unpublished fables.

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old
prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a
disposition to poetic productions and there is hardly any
domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of.
A Nama teacher surprised the Teachers' Conference of last [875]
year with a large collection of anthems he had composed,
some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of
teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way
in which most of them had approached the problems and
publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising.

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. 533
The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more 517
than the possession of money. The women and girls have
often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song
for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete
very favourably with the music at European church festivals.
I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately
devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he
had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium.
According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution
had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har-

their herds or lived, are regarded as territory of the tribe. 423 At present these disputes do not occur any more since tribal possession of land has ceased to exist and reserves have been granted to individual tribes as usufruct and not as property. Consequently it is of no further interest to consider these old rights. They had rights of pasturage, honey, hunting, springs and water, etc., but these have ceased to exist. The Administration fixes legal boundaries for their reserves.

8. The facts with reference to hereditary rights are, however, 428 quite different, for up to now the legislation of the Administration has not tampered with the rights of inheritance among the Nama—a fact which is very pleasing. As has been said, the chieftainship is inherited from the father [643] by the eldest son. In case the chief has no sons, the sons of the eldest brother of the chief are the nearest relations entitled to the inheritance. The children inherit everything from their parents, the heritage being divided equally amongst the sons and daughters and the eldest son is regarded as the administrator of the estate under the supervision of the eldest living brother of the father.

If the children are still under age and the grandparents 429 are still alive, then they act on behalf of the guardian and take the orphans and their heritage to themselves. When childless parents die, their parents take possession of their 428 estate. When they also are dead, the chief divides the estate among the relatives, the following order being observed: the eldest sister of the husband, the brothers of the father of the late man, the sisters of the father, the sisters of the mother, the children of the brothers of the deceased, the children of the remaining sisters of the deceased, the children of his mother's sisters.

Illegitimate children of the man are entitled to an inheri- 428 tance just as the other children. Illegitimate children of the 848 mother have no claim to the inheritance as they belong to their father's family, who was obliged to support them in their first years and had taken care of them after that.

They could only depart from this law of inheritance on the oral testimony of the testator arranging it. They usually abided conscientiously by such stipulations in reverence for the deceased; and fear that the deceased might take revenge for their not complying with the stipulations of his will played no part in it.

X. Civilisation and Modern Times.

The nomadic Nama tribes had already been affected by 177 European civilisation from three different sides a hundred years ago. There were the Orlam tribes who immigrated gradually towards the beginning of last century, then the hunters and traders who travelled through the country and lastly the missionaries. It might seem strange that the

177 immigration of the Orlam tribes is also cited as a civilising factor, but it must be remembered that many of the Orlam had already been in close contact with Europeans in the Cape Colony; that some of them could read and write; that many of them had been under the influence of missionaries; that they were already used to European clothing, and above all knew how to use firearms, which gave them a considerable predominance over the old resident tribes.

The first conflict had to take place with the Orlam and terminated in the Orlam tribe of the Afrikaner (who had been called to their help by the chief of the old tribes of the country) gaining the supreme rule and exercising a profound influence which, however, was not always beneficial.

2. The old hunters, representatives of civilised nations, did not indulge in civilising work! By them the rich game supplies were reduced to such an extent that elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, etc., are now looked for in vain in Namaland. In spite of this they did not have to cope with many difficulties among the Nama tribes. On the whole the Nama regarded them as friends. What is more, it was to their temporary advantage to be able to fill their pots without any effort when big game was shot. Then they—children of the moment—never thought of the coming devastation of their hunting areas. For all that it can still be said that the representative of a higher civilisation, no matter how he acts among uncivilised tribes, must be estimated as a civilising factor, even though it be only by virtue of his appearance. He rouses impulses and stimulates the will to strive after a higher civilisation.

The traders of those times often complained of the unfriendly attitude which they experienced on their commercial travels. They brought clothing materials and clothes into the country, the old skin clothes disappeared gradually and the Nama who respected himself went about in European clothes.

Unfortunately they also brought alcohol into the country and supplied the robber-tribes with rifles, lead and gunpowder. As they gave credit to their purchasers the collecting of the heavy debts caused many difficulties and the advice of some unprincipled tradesmen to pay them with cattle robbed from the Herero did not promote peaceful terms with their northern neighbours. In spite of this these commercial travellers should not be forgotten when the civilising influences which have affected the Nama are named.

177 797 3. All praise is due to the Mission for rendering the greatest services to the Nama both as mediator and bearer of civilisation. As early as 1805 the Evangelic Mission started its work at Warmbad among the Bondelzwarts who had up to then led a nomadic life, crossing then to the one and then to the other side of the Orange River. In judging the

civilising work of the mission it must be borne in mind that 177
it had to deal with a nomadic tribe, and to make such a 797
tribe amenable to civilisation, means solving the gigantic problem of getting a nomadic tribe to settle down permanently.

To do so J. H. Schmelen crossed the Orange River in 1815 with his people to settle at the spring in Bethanie; but his first attempt to keep them here did not succeed. To-day, however, Bethanie has its own population and is still a mission station. In 1850 the missionary Knudsen attempted to settle another tribe at Guldbrandsdalen after a good rainy year, but his attempt failed too. But round the spring at Broekkaross the station Berseba was successfully founded where those same people gathered and where their progeny still stays to-day. It was the mission that kept this tribe in Gibeon where it still is to-day.

So, gradually, missionary stations arose all over Namaland. In 1866 Keetmanshoop got a missionary. In 1856 Gobabis was founded. In 1853 the first missionary settled among the Red Nation at Hoachanas. Attempts were also made to bring about a moral way of living among the Afrikaners at Windhoek; but the attempt failed and the tribe was ruined.

The missionary station with its church and school in course of time became the centre of the individual tribes. Times of progress were followed by times of degradation. The nomadic tendency often manifested itself and often the missionary saw his community disappearing in all directions especially in dry years. But they gathered round him again and so his community remained intact. The mission has been reproached because it did not educate the Nama to work, etc.; but people seem to forget that if they are to be educated to work in a European sense, there must be a working potentiality, and these potentialities failed everywhere. Where there were arable ground and water they introduced gardening, but everyone knows how many difficulties gardening involves in South West, especially in dry Namaland.

4. At the right time, just when the tribes had been 177
domiciled to a certain extent by the mission, the occupation of the country by the German Empire set in, and colonisation of the country by white farmers began. The travelling traders became less and less and stores began to be opened in the townships and transport-drivers conveyed goods to far-off places. The Nama had opportunities to work now, but unfortunately had no willingness to work. For the recently settled Nama never had had to work in the European sense and consequently were not accustomed to continual exertion and were averse from it. Nevertheless many of the Nama became expert drivers, achieving surprising things with their 6 metres-long ox-whip; others became herdsmen and others domestic servants of the whites. The breaking out of the

177 Nama war afterwards, which caused such heavy losses on both fighting sides cannot be regarded as a revolt against civilisation. The chiefs had sold extensive portions of their pastures; farmers had settled at the best waters; the hunting areas were ruined; the common man felt himself specially restricted and the chiefs and councillors felt that the scope of their powers was narrowed. The policy of the Government representatives to treat the chiefs with marked distinction whenever opportunity offered did not alter things at all. Seeds of discontent gathered and, when a spark fell, the fire of war blazed up.

178 5. These times belong to the past. More than the Herero, has the Nama perceived that the Wheel of Fate does not allow itself to be turned back by force. Great reserves have been allotted to loyal tribes, the old and those unable to work, by the German and Mandated Governments, and these territories are inalienable. The strong and healthy have good opportunities for work and for earning their bread all over Namaland. As formerly the mission still sees to the maintenance of the community life and the cultivation and development of their inner life. What a community in Namaland implies is only known to him who has studied the old history of that tribe without community life.

178 871 More than 12,000 members of the Nama tribe have already become members of the Christian communities. The youth are educated in numerous schools, and although they have no compulsory education, yet they have made notable progress. The Government supports these missionary schools in such a way as was impossible for the Missionary Associations. The Government further has these Nama schools inspected by its inspectors, and supports the work of training and developing the native teaching staff.

000 6. Only we must not expect too much. A nomadic tribe cannot be changed to a civilised nation within the short period of one century full of wars and cries of war. Yet the Nama is proof of the fact that loyal and uninterrupted work in this direction is not futile!

841 ways, which it is not necessary to mention here. When she
is ready to come out, a matron, who has been a successful
823 married woman, with many children whom she has reared, but
who is now past the child-bearing age, and who has taken charge
of the girl all through her seclusion at the invitation of the
mother, enters her hut, cleanses the girl of all her Axa /urip,
her child dirt. This is very thoroughly done, as I have myself
seen, with melted butter and wet cow-dung, every inch of the
girl's body being well scoured. The girl is then given a complete
set of new clothing, and is led into the outer hut by the matron
with whom she prepares a meal for the other women assembled
[272 to receive her. Nowadays, it is tea or coffee she prepares,
177] formerly it was meat slaughtered for the occasion. The matron
must hold her hand as she takes the pot, and aid her with each
thing she does. Soot from the pot is put on her forehead, and
together the old woman and she eat a piece of meat prepared apart
from the rest. So she is made free to cook and prepare a meal
once more. Similarly, she must be reintroduced to all her daily
tasks by the old woman. They milk together, gather wood
together, collect roots and berries. Towards evening, when the
usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, she
goes accompanied by all the old women, the matron in charge
of her walking just in front of her, another old woman behind,
as they move along in single file. Arrived at the water, the
matron takes wet mud from the water, rubs it on the girl's legs,
and then she takes a branch and splashes the water over the
girl. Finally, both of them take hold of the branch and strike
the water. The matron then fills the girl's bucket and her own,
puts one on the girl's head, and then the procession returns home.
After this the girl is perfectly free to use water whenever she
likes, except when she has her period. Nothing is said, so far as
I know, when the girl is reintroduced to water, but when a
widow is similarly splashed all over the old woman says: "!Gâra
823 dama gõure ǂhaba ǂhabare "* (Don't get thin, get fat, fat as
the ǂhaba tuber). In the case of a woman with a baby, it will
[844] be the older women who have looked after her who will free
her from all her restrictions. In the case of a person with some
[755] disease, it will be the inoculator who will do it, but always the
procedure is the same, so far as the water is concerned. When
823 I was in Windhoek, this last Christmas, a woman died on a
neighbouring farm, but was brought in to be buried by her
841 friends in the location. What the real cause of death was I
do not know for certain: it may have been heart failure, as it
was very sudden. The natives' account is quite definite. The
woman had her period, yet started to do her mistress's washing
in cold water. She just died on the spot! Several other instances
I got in Franzfontein from women who had been working for

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* ǂHabas is *Fockea damarana*, Schltr., an Asclepiad with a large tuber. [illegible] per cent of the weight is made up by a thin milky juice. The tuber is eaten raw. ǂHaba ǂHaba is a verb formed by reduplication from this noun.

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THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

BY
P. W. LAIDLER, L.R.C.S. & P., D.P.H., F.S.A. (SCOT.),
Medical Officer of Health, East London.

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ABSTRACT.

Graevenbroeck (1685) and Kolben (1736), who is supposed
753 to have copied most of his information from the first named,
755 both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of
the Hottentot Medicine Man. There was evidently a classifica-
757 tion, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of
disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were
treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step
was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by
[187] examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used.
There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and
[562] men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking
with the mouth of pieces of bone out of the back, and other
such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

755 All of the old observers from Graevenbroeck to Campbell
in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that after medicines
had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention
of leaving this world by fair speeches and foul, and was thumped
to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and
howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled.
After recovery an andersmaken or transition rite was under-
gone by the fortunate patient.

164 After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and
[177] less cleanly illnesses swept the country like plagues. Previous
to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore
breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due
[846] to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which
retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but
757 there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, vene-
real disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are
of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the
score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those
remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting
of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding
[824] item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally
beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the
skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

000 Des jaers zestien hondert en negen-en-vijftigh, ontstont tusschen de volken *Goringhaiquas* of Kaepmans, en d'onzen daer te lande een heftigh oorlogh, over de bezitting en toe-eigeningh van het lant ontrent de kaep, daer de Kaepmans d'onzen trachten uit te stoten; met voorwenden van aller eeuwen her dat bezeten te hebben. In dien oorlog boden hen de *Gorachouquas* of Tabaks-dieven doorgaens bystant, en velden velen van ons volk, daer kans viel om hen te bespringen, met asagayen ter neer, en bragtenze jammerlijk om den hals: t'effens beroofden zy den onzen ook van beesten, gerechtelijk voor koopmanschappen aen hen geruilt, die zy hen zoo snellijk ontjaeghden, dat zy niet te beschieten waeren; nemende al meest hun slaegh waer, by ongestuimigh en regenachtigh weder; wel bewust dat dan met het geweer zeer weinigh konde uitgerecht worden.

Deze treken en we[illegible]nschap hadden zy bekomen uit berecht van eenen van hun eigen volk by hen genaemt *Nommoã*, en by d'onzen *Doman*, die te *Batavie*, (derwaerts overgevaren, met een schip van de Kompanjie,) zich vier of vijf jaren had opgehouden, en den omgangh der Neerlanders wel bezichtight, ook zelfs geen kleen gedeelte daer van ingezogen. *Doman*, dan, met de schepen, (herwaerts na Hollandt verordent,) weer aen de Kaap gekomen, hielt zich een lange wijle in Neerlantsche kleding by d'onzen, maer begaf zich eindelik weder onder die Kaepmans, maekende hen het doen en den omgang der Neerlanders, en de maniere van hun geweer volkomelijk bekent.

Hy, t'effens met noch een anderen strijdtbaren krijghsknecht, geheten by de Hottentots *Garabinga*, en by de Neerlanders *Plat-neus*, zijn altijts de voor-vechters geweest, en hebben altijts het spits in het aenvallen voor afgebeten, zonder dat zy oit, van wegen hunne overgrote raddigheit, door heimelijke wachten van ruiterye of voet-knechten t'achterhalen waren.

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721 [15] For a summary description of this "war," see Theal, *op cit.*, 93-101. Van Riebeeck, in the memorandum he prepared for his successor, says of the Goringhaiqua: "They are those who pretend that this Cape land has during all the centuries been their own, and seeing that we had permanently established ourselves here as agriculturists, according to their own statement, made war against us in 1659, in consequence of the rude behaviour towards them of some of the freemen" (*Letters Desp.*, iii, 239).

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177 [16] He belonged to the group of Capemen, and was called Doman or Dominie by the Dutch, "because he was such a very simple-minded man" (D. Nov. 12, 1655). He had lived with the Dutch for some time, and was believed to be attached to them and faithful to their interests. In April 1657 he accompanied van Goens, after-

In 1659 there arose between the Goringhaiquas or Capemen and our countrymen who were there a violent struggle over the occupation and ownership of the land about the Cape.15) The Capemen attempted to expel us, alleging that they had held this land from time immemorial. In this war the Gorachouquas (Tobacco Thieves) gave them continual support; and whenever an opportunity occurred of attacking our people they struck down many with assegais and killed them tragically. In addition, they plundered our countrymen of cattle lawfully bartered from them with merchandize, driving away the beasts so rapidly that they could not be fired upon, for they availed themselves mostly of opportunities when the weather was unsettled and rainy, knowing well that little could then be effected against them with firelocks. 619 726

The knowledge of this trick they had obtained from one of their own people, known to them as Nommoä and to our countrymen as Doman.16). He had spent four or five years in Batavia, where he had been taken in one of the Company's ships; and had closely observed the habits of the Dutch, even acquiring no small part of them himself. Returning again to the Cape in the ships directed for Holland, he remained for some time in European dress amongst our countrymen, but finally went back to the Capemen, making them fully acquainted with the habits and customs of the Dutch and the nature of their weapons. He and another doughty warrior, called Carabinga by the Hottentots and Flat-Nose by the Dutch, 17) were always outstanding in battle. They took the lead in all the attacks, and owing to their remarkable agility could never be caught, not even by secret watches of men on horse or on foot. 726 177● 159

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wards Governor-General of Netherlands India, to Batavia, whence he returned in March 1658, rejoicing in the name of Anthony (D. March 21, 1658; May 19, 1659); altogether, therefore, he was away less than a year, and not "four or five years" as stated by Dapper. On his return he was employed as an interpreter, but one night early in Feb. 1659 he disappeared from the Fort, and the next that was heard of him was that he had been recognized as the leader of a party of plunderers (D. Feb. 7, 1659; May 19, 1659; Theal, *op. cit.*, 92). After the end of the war he came back to live at the Fort, and is mentioned in 1661 as an official interpreter once more (e.g. D. May 16, 1661). He died Dec. 12, 1663, "for whose death", says Wagenaar, "none of us will have cause to grieve, as he has been, in many respects, a mischievous and malicious man towards the Company" (Moodie, *op. cit.*, 272). 159 177

17) Mentioned by van Riebeeck (D. Aug. 5, 1659) as one of those "who as a rule gave us the most trouble, having always been present everywhere as the principal champions in the war against us".

NAMA

NAMAQUAS.

000 De Hottentots, genaemt *Namaquas*, leggen tegenwoordigh ontrent tachentigh of tnegentigh mijlen oost-noord-oostwaerts van de kaep van goeder hope, maer zeer verre te landewaerts in.

Des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestigh, wierden door het Opperhooft van 't Nederlants Fort, de Heer *Rietbeek*, dertien Neerlanders, verzien met vier draegh ossen, om te vernemen of by hen geen gout of eenige andere rare kostelijkheden te vinden waren, derwaerts gezonden. Zy vonden hen ontrent tachtigh of negentigh mijlen noord-oost-waerts van de kaep te lande in, en wierden, by hen komende, met tekenen van alle vrientschap en een bly gelaet ontfangen, en met schapen vereert. Desgelijx wert hun aenkomste begroet met een ongemeen en raer musijk, van ontrent hondert muzikanten, die alle, ieder met een riet, doch van ongelijke lengte, in de hant, in een kring, (daer een man in 't midden met een stok de maet sloegh,) stonden, en daer uit met blazen, een zulk heerlijk grof en fijn geluit deden voortkomen, als of ieder riet een trompet de marine waer geweest. Na het eindigen des gespels, 't welk twee of drie uuren duurende, en in groote vrolijkeit toeging, wierden d'onzen op 's koninghs-verzoek in zijn huis gebraght, en daer met melk en schapen-vleesch onthaelt, daer en tegen d'onzen den koning met wat koper, en kralen, brandewijn en tabak vereerden, die de koning noch de *Namaquas* noit hadden zien suigen, maer leerden zulx alle in korten wijle, tot vrouwen en kinderen toe. Eindelijk wiert hen door den koning een plaets even buiten hun leger aengewezen, om nacht en dagh-rust te houden.

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[41] First mentioned, under the name Namana, in the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by Eva (D., Oct. 31, 1657). Further information was obtained from Harry (D., Oct. 31, 1657) and Soeswa (D., Dec. 16, 1660), but the Dutch did not actually come into contact with them until 1661, when they were encountered by Cruythoff's expedition (D., March 11, 1661). Van Riebeeck's notes on them, written in 1662 for his successor (*Letters desp.*, iii, 241, 243-4), are consequently far more accurate than what he has to say about them in a letter written to the Chamber of Seventeen in 1659 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). In later years the Dutch learned to distinguish two groups: the Little Namaqua, living in what is now Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, and the Great Namaqua, living north of the Orange River in the southern parts of what is now South West Africa. Both groups at times visited the settlement at Table Bay, and the area over which they wandered seems to have been very wide. Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, but their tribal cohesion and culture have been completely destroyed by contact with the whites, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood.

NAMA

NAMAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41] live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42] They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43]

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A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9).

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[42] This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 30, 1661, and returned on March 10. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 46-63.

[43] Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they 721
yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst
them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. 648
Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [63].

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they 577
appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly
manner [64]. It is true that stealing does sometimes occur 674
among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*,
which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming [276]
drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this
with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for [834]
a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [65].

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity 291
among them: for when they come to our countrymen at
the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling 301
skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how 186
bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not
yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war 727
instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 320).

[65] Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I [576
cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame,
a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope 177]
have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Afrique*, 18.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne (below, p. 115).

293 tied to it (called *zou* in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they [411] carry a crude assegai.

415 482 The women never go out without having on the back a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

WEAPONS.

411 The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais⁷⁰). The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but [325] sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as has just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

FOOD.

262 252 As far as their food is concerned, they eat little by way of vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food⁷¹), but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

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[177] 70) Maingard, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa (*South African Journal of Science*, xxix, 712 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

71) Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachranging Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted [251] or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera, *op. cit.*, 238).

raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first 262
however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing 252
it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the [222]
shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters.
They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which 262
they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by [225]
thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat
they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and
unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber
of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then
washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped
out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried
blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting [251]
out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[72]).
At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard
sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly
roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living
along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch,
and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they
can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top
of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without
bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they [439]
willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas
and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer
time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots
growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey [222]
which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. [237]
Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and
mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber. [758]

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also 272
hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as
well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk 273
from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of 276
shouting and babbling.

INDUSTRY.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or 285
industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make
mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and
sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have 177
learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts 325
and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown
away by us here and there.[73]) They use nothing more than
one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make
the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[72]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
Nama

2. The second tribe is that of the Namaquas.[7] They maintain the following fashion in dress peculiar to themselves: whereas the others wear skins of foxes or goats, they cover their nakedness with a lattice of elephant's tooth.[8] They are better protected in war than the rest, having almost impenetrable shields.[9] 619 291 713

3. After them come the *Sousvas*,[10] with the same mental and physical equipment as our Hottentots.

4. Next are the *Sonquas*,[11] who for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting wild animals. 600

5. Their neighbours are the *Gregoriquas*.[12] 619

6. The *Honnimas*[13] are the last of this hostile array. With them we are at war by reason of divers murders perpetrated on our countrymen. Their chief captain, *Honnima* by name, is old and lame, but a vigorous soldier. 721

7. Finally those who mingle freely with our men about the Castle form auxiliary troops. The general in command of them is called Claes, and the second in command is Captain Cuyper,[14] both excellent soldiers and tacticians. And indeed I myself have often seen them, a pair of beggars, with their ragged crew at their heels. To the latter, with his retinue of six attendants, I have often supplied the pinch of tobacco for which he begged, holding a little conversation with him in French. 177

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[14] Claes (Klaas, known to the Hottentots as Dorha) was head of a Chainouqua clan. He first came into prominence about 1672, and was for many years a firm supporter and cattle trader of the Dutch, and regarded as their most faithful ally. He was on hostile terms with Gonnema, and fought against him in the war of 1673-77, hence Ten Rhyne's reference to "auxiliary troops". "Claas with his rival Captain Koopman became chiefs of the Chainouquas on the death of Sousoa. In 1691 he was confined on Robben Island by Simon van der Stel for robbing Koopman of his cattle. Koopman during his exile took the wife of Claas. When he returned from banishment to his grazing grounds beyond Sir Lowry Pass his wife attempted to rejoin him. She was overtaken by Koopman and stoned to death. Claas was killed in the winter of 1701 while searching for a strayed or stolen ox near Koopman's kraal" (Mossop, *V.R.S.* 12, 209 n). Cuyper (or rather de Cuyper, "the cooper"), first mentioned D. July 6, 1666, was head of one of the Goringhaiqua kraals. In the agreement of May 5, 1672, by which "the minor chief Dhouw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentoos Holland," sold that land to the Dutch, reference is made to "the Hottentot chief Dackkgy (alias Cuyper, stadhouder and guardian to the prince") (!) (Moodie, *Record*, 318-9). It is interesting to note how, within twenty years of the settlement at the Cape, the names of the local Hottentot clans and tribes had already fallen into general disuse, the different groups being more commonly known by the names of their headmen or chiefs, while only the more remote groups still bore their tribal names. 622 721

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

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the use of it.[8] And although there are here various excellent salt beds and pools, whose waters turn of their own accord to salt, yet they are ignorant of the use of it. But they do not refuse our pickles, or pickled foods, or salted flesh or fish. Our lettuces also and other vegetables they have at length learned to eat greedily, though at first, mocking the indiscriminate taste of Europeans, they would say that they were only fit to be eaten by cattle along with the grass of the field. Then, if asked to lunch or dinner, they would retort, make the oxen your guests, pile up the grass, boasting that they could endure fasting and had learned to bear poverty from childhood. And indeed on a close view of their whole life I have come to know that they are very patient of scant living and order their whole existence in the rigorous manner of the Rechabites.

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Our neighbours drink water and milk, but the distant tribes quench their thirst also with curds and various sorts of beer. This, which is like Rotterdam beer, is made by the women two hundred and more miles from here in huge earthenware vessels, and is of two qualities.[9] The women also bake a coarse bread, and pound a grain unknown to our countrymen which produces a white flour and is very nutritive; it is of three sorts, and is somewhat bigger than millet, and not very different from it and panic-grass.[10] On the women lies the burden of the household, and also the education of the children and cultivation of the fields.

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If a woman among them bear twins, they rear them, giving them to the mother to be cherished and fed. In this they differ greatly from the nearer tribes and those who live among us, for their custom is, when twins are born, to take one of them, of course the girl, for they always preserve the male, and cast it with hideous cruelty to the birds and beasts to tear and rend in some thicket, or to bury it alive in the earth. The reason they allege is that

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Europeans do so" (Moodie, *Record*, 417). Grevenbroek evidently had these statements in mind when writing the passage above. Schreyer (op. cit., 45) says that Hottentot men were forbidden to drink sheep's milk, which was a food fit only for women.

[9] Soga (*The Ama-Xosa*, 399-401) also speaks of two varieties of Kafir beer, *utywala*, a mild inebriant, mostly used at social gatherings, and *amarewu*, a non-intoxicant kind, used for private and domestic drinking. The "Stavenisse" crew said the Amaxhosa had corn from which "they make very well tasted and nourishing bread, and brew beer both small and strong, which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels" (Moodie, *op. cit.*, 418).

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[10] Kafir corn (*Holcus sorghum*). The "Stavenisse" crew reported the existence of three kinds of this corn (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 67).

The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy 136
it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation.
It abounds in oxen and sheep and other animals, as well 231
as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed.

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with 135
various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And
the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited 137
for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil.

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, 134
in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks.
This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn 600
does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle.

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight 132
is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this
task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral 241
precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake.

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically 461
hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying
their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire 463
the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make 177
faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Sarmatian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and

600 jurares: drapetas, errones fugitivosque tam liberos quam servos reprehendunt, retrahunt, domumque spe praemii reducunt. Bajuli, corbulones, geruli, angari, hemerodromi fidissimi: lignarii, fornacarii, lixae, pampiniatores, vindemiatoresque et in calcatorio torcularii seduli: silvestrem agrum extricant, elapidatumque pastino, ligone aut bipalio fodiunt, manumque buri sine laxamento admovent, sementem faciunt, terram rastris insectantur, deoccant, lirant cratiuntque: irpicibus dirunciunt, eruncantque ex agro, vinea hortoque herbas, magnamque in messe quam demetunt operam indefessi praestant, capite hedera convolvulisque redimito, quo aestuantium radiorum solarium rigorem corymbiferi infringant, diceresque te bacchantium agmen videre, per omnia Afris nostris simillimum, nisi quod illi[s] dextrâ poculum vibrantes, vino madeant, dum hi una manu falculam altera culmos tenentes messores, areatores, evannatoresque acriter desudant.

Horum mulieres filiaeque non infideles lotrices, nec gerariae indiligentes: patinas omniaque vasa coquinaria eluere, sordesque everrere et sarrire, facesque ex agris undecunque colligere, focum accendere, coquulae apprimè norunt, Batavis parvo famulae.

Palam est quod sine horum Davorum opera, acrius coloni nostri licet fortissimi agris laboribusque suis ingemiscerent: sed proh dolor! nimia felicitate (ut assolet) torpescentes, tanquam Salmacidis spoliis, sine sudore aut labore partis, enervantur multi.

Non ingratum tibi, nec abs re fore arbitror si narravero me vidisse Afram, cui pro diurno labore in gabata a quodam Belga analecta dabantur, quae laeta haud aliter quam pipans gallina pullos convocat, suos conclamans populares, eis capturam tanquam in diribitorio dilargitur, vix bucellam sibi servans, hacque bonorum communione promiscue gaudent omnes, ita ut tubulus nicotiani accensus ab ore ad os omnium accurrentium perambulat, donec in fumum et cineres tabacum conversum sit. A Barbaris certare beneficiis Christiani discant.

Rigandae terrae crebri fontes, rivuli, amnesque limpidissimi saluberrimique non desiderantur, quorum incredibilis pelluciditas et dulcedo saepius sitim mihi adeo aut provocavit aut auxit, ut dixisses me sub Jerubbaalis signis novissimae lustrationis militare.

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69) An excellent, if rather eulogistic, description of the way in which the Hottentots were being employed as servants by the European farmers. Most of the domestic labour, of course, was done by imported slaves, but many of the farmers already had Hottentots as well (*cf.*, e.g., *The Diary of Adam Tas*, passim).

deserters they arrest and bring back home in hope of a 461
reward. They make trusty bearers, porters, carriers, post-
boys and couriers. They chop wood, mind the fire, work 463
in the kitchen, prune vines, gather grapes, or work the wine
press industriously. They clear wild ground, and when 177
the stones have been picked out of it, break it up with
dibble, hoe, or mattock. Without relaxation they plough,
sow, and harrow. From field, vineyard or garden they clean
out the weeds with their rakes, and at harvest time they
exert themselves indefatigably, their heads bound with
ivy and convolvulus so that the green clustering leaves may
mitigate the fierceness of the sun's burning rays. A troop
of Bacchic revellers you might say, and indeed the
resemblance is complete save that the followers of Bacchus
brandished goblets in their hands and were drenched with
wine, whereas our natives at the harvest have a sickle in
one hand and the corn stalks in the other, and whether
harvesting, threshing, or winnowing are drenched in sweat.

Their wives and daughters make reliable washerwomen and busy chars. They wash plates and dishes, clean up dirt, gather sticks from the fields round-about, light the fires, cook well, and provide cheap labour for the Dutch.89)

It is perfectly plain that without the aid of these slaves, 500
our farmers, stout fellows though they be, would be groaning
bitterly over their toil in the fields. But, oh, the shame
of it! as usual too much good fortune has bred sloth,
and many are enervated as if by the spoils of Salmacis,
won without toil or sweat.

It will not bore you, I think, and it will be *à propos*, if 465
I tell you that I have seen a Hottentot woman, who in
return for a day's labour had been given some scraps in 574
a platter by a certain Dutchman. She began to crow
with delight like a hen gathering her chickens, calling
her people together and making a regular distribution of
her booty among them, and hardly keeping a mouthful
for herself. All alike delight in this communion of goods.90)
Even a pipe of tobacco when kindled is passed round from
mouth to mouth of the crowd that keeps running up, until
the weed has vanished into smoke and ash. Let the
Christians learn from the natives to vie with one another
in well-doing.

For the irrigation of the soil there is no lack of limpid, 312
wholesome springs, streams and rivers, the incredible
clearness and sweetness of which has often so occasioned
or increased my thirst that you would have declared me
to be a soldier of Jerubaal at the last testing.91)

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90) See above, p. 47.
91) Judges, 7, 4-6.

680 latum, nobisque in otio vivendi copia quiesque parta, et latius extendendi pomeria occasio oblata fuit.

Sub hujus Coloniae primordiis, Afri nostros conterraneos ignivomos putabant, dum adstupentes, displosis nostratium bombardis una solâ glanda plombeâ quantamcunque feram, leonem, elephantemve tanquam Jovis ignibus ictum, sterni vident. Iidem equites nostros, totidem Centauros, aut semi-viros[que] equos sibi fingebant, ad quorum conspectum contremiscebant. Eorundemque fortitudinem in tantum reverebantur, ut quamlibet mulierem puellamve horum barbarorum, alteram Thalestram Alexandri concipiendi studio se prostituentem dixisses, eò acriori in venerem cupidine (instigante et stimulante forte ejus marito) quo firmius credebat, foetui ex nostris concepto, parentis virtutem ingenerari: Misella! pulveris nitrati et nostratium armorum ignara.

Talibus illusionibus fovendis, nostratium aliquis, barbaro pateram ex vicino torrente aquâ replendam porrexit: nostras interim aliam priori assimilem, spiritu vini maximarum virium diffluentem in tentorio suo abscondit, revertitur Afer, cantinumque lympha plenum reportat, quem arreptum nostras juxta latentem patinam subdole collocat, convocatque Barbaros, ut cum suis magis adsint. Protinus omnes adstant, interroganturque, an aquam per Afrum ex amne haustam et scutella contentam flammis conflagrare valeant? qui imperitiam suam fassi, negant à quoquam id posse fieri. Astu nostras patinam spiritu vini gravem produxit, petitque ignem sibi dari, vafreque admotis sulphuratis spiritum vini accendit, quem ubi flammatum barbari vident, credentes aquam à se allatam ignem concepisse, nullum suspicantes dolum, quidam eorum pudore, omnes metu diffugiunt: sic ars deluditur arte.

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721 102) The episode to which G. refers took place during the war of 1673-77 against Gonnema (see above, p. 88). In July, 1673, the first punitive expedition sent out from the Fort under Cruse found the Hottentots' kraal abandoned, but seized all the cattle and marched back home. They had not gone very far before they discovered that the Hottentots were following them, and at their first resting-place an attempt was made to recover the cattle. It failed, but the Hottentots kept hovering about for some time. "Had hardly marched a quarter of an hour," says Cruse's report, "when it began to rain so horribly that in case of necessity not one of us would have been able to discharge his musket, but God has protected us from an attack of the enemy who might, humanly speaking, have been able to destroy us all and recapture the cattle" (D., July 25, 1673).

177 103) De Choisy, one of the Jesuits who passed through the Cape in 1685-86 on their way to Siam, relates an identical episode which he says was told to him by Simon v. d. Stel as having

the war. The chance of living in peace and quiet, and the freedom to extend our dominion, were secured for us.[102]) 721

In the early days of the Colony the natives thought that our men who lived next to them could vomit fire. They stood by in amazement, while on the discharge of our guns they saw the largest wild animal, a lion, or an elephant, laid low by one leaden bullet as if struck by lightning. Our cavalry likewise they regarded as so many Centaurs, half horses half men; at the sight of them they began to shake; and they held their strength in such awe that any native wife or maid would prostitute herself to them, hoping, like a second Thalestra, to conceive an Alexander; the woman's husband perhaps would urge her to it, and she would be all the more ready because firmly convinced that the virtue of the sire would be implanted in any child conceived from one of our men. Poor woman! All because she had never heard of powder and shot. 177 [836 837]

In order to foster these illusions one of our fellows gave a native a dish to be filled with water from the streams near by. Meantime he took a second dish like the first, overflowing with strong spirits of wine, and hid it in his tent. The native returned bringing the bowl of water, which our man took and put secretly beside the concealed dish. He then summoned the natives to attend with their witch-doctors. They all came at once, and were asked whether they could cause to break into flame the water fetched by the native from the stream and contained in the dish. They confessed their inability, alleging that nobody could do it. Then our wily fellow produced the bowl of spirits of wine, called for a light, and cunningly applied the match to the spirits of wine. When the natives saw the burst of flame, they thought he had set the water on fire; suspecting no deceit, they fled in all directions, some through shame, but all in fear. So is the trickster tricked[103]).

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happened during the journey to Namaqualand. He describes it as follows: "Un jour qu'il estoit campé sur une petite hauteur, les Outentos qui l'accompagnoient, lui dirent qu'il alloit mourir, et qu'ils voyoient venir à lui les deux plus grand sorciers du pais. En effet, deux hommes habillez bizarrement, suivis d'une centaine d'autres, s'approchoient gravement: mais il les prévint, et leur fit dire qu'il estoit plus grand sorcier qu'eux; et pour le leur prover, il fit apporter devant eux un verre d'eau-de-vie, y mit le feu, et l'avala toute enflammée. Les pauvres sorciers se jetterent à genoux, reconnurent son pouvoir supérieur, et se retirent" (*Journal du Voyage de Siam*, reprint 1930, p. 276). There is no mention at all of this incident in the official records of the journey, but some such story must have been current in the Cape about 1685, forming the source upon which both G. and de Choisy drew their respective accounts. 177

121 of the Gubbins Collection at the University and of the Municipal Library of Johannesburg, had convinced me that that could not be the case. Thanks to the kind assistance of my friends, Rev. H. R. Higgs and Mr. C. Lefevre, of Bloemhof, and I must also add, thanks to the good offices of Rev. John Motseleng, the Native minister at Bloemhof, I was able to discover the remnants of the once numerous tribe—the Links Korana—at Bloemhof, which I visited in December 1931, and February 1932.

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● 177 My knowledge of their language created rapid contact with them. I found in the location about twenty-five of them—all that remains apart from a few stray farm hands in the district and perhaps also on the Free State side of the Vaal River, living their lives apart from the Bechuana who surround them, and preserving the ancient language of their forefathers. But the pastoral life over the vast veld, the countless flocks and herds, exist no more; their old customs, because of the influence of civilisation and of Christianity, have gone.

115 I tried to pick up the broken threads of their old tradition and of their former culture. The old men helped me. There was *Tabab*, a descendant of the old chieftain stock, once a fighter in the battle of Mamusa (1885) a man of about seventy or eighty; *Teteb*, the nephew of the old chiefs of the Links, a slightly younger man; *Saul van Eck*, the son of *Willem*, the Catechist of Rev. Brune of the Saron Mission Station, nearly as old as *Tabab*; *Matiti*, with wrinkled face and bent double with old age and nearly, if not over 100; *Juli*, still older, a wizened old figure of a man, silent through age, and old *Daob*. This last of the old generation was recounting his memories and mentioned " Boomplaats." That word gave me a clue to his age. It is, as is well known, the name of a battle fought in 1848 between Andries Pretorius and the English. *Daob* said he was a grown-up man at Thaba 'Nchu, a Mission Station a short distance east of Bloemfontein, when he saw the Boers of Pretorius rushing through after their defeat. If we take twenty years, as a minimum, to mean the age of " a grown-up man," then he would be at least 104, and probably much more, for he called *Matiti* " a boy." His appearance did not belie his great age. He was nothing but skin and bone, very tall and slightly bent, blind, but extraordinarily active physically and mentally. His speech was quick and his memory amazing. An expert musician, he was of great help to my colleague, Professor Kirby, who accompanied me on my second trip. Such was the group of old men, three of them centenarians, who are now the repositories of the tribal lore of the Links and of their ancient traditions.

The old women, *Kheis*, the wife of *Tabab*, a stately dame, of the royal lineage of Mamusa, *Go:tis* and *Meis*, two very old, wrinkled

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Bring it home (to the stad), in order that the great men of the stad may look at its foot.

If you come across any (strange) thing in the veld, take it home (to the stad), that the owner may obtain it in the stad.

Do not eat a hare.

If you make any mistakes in anything, you go back to the " law " i.e. instruction.

If you eat a hare, you die there (i.e. on the spot)"

When he comes out of the (*doro*) house, a heifer is chosen, three years old. He runs hard, in order to catch it. If he catches it, he is a man. If he does not, he goes back to the " law " again.

● [177] *Note :* *Matiti*, the other informant added : *|hũna ha !kũ o, ikje dixu dorobi*, " since the white men (the English) have come, the *doro* has ceased."

When this version was tested, by getting *Matiti* to relate his facts, he only added ; (i) that the ox's entrails were burnt and the fat melted ; (ii) (among the " laws,") Do not tell a lie ; Do not steal ; Do not do anything wrong."

Version B : from *Tabab*, February 1932.

doro !na ko u: ≠kei. .ina !wãsi kei khwekwa ku ha .ina gomare !kwa !kũ ||kae. ina garamuʃ thi gõab thikha mãe.

ina ||kxaeb mãe:

ta:e !aub !na ho:we sa |aibba sausub khau.
ta:e !õas ≠ũ.
ta:e !aub !na ho: |aina itsta mũ o.
ta:e !gaba ≠eib. a u:ha ||kãũba !kwa.
iku gei khwekwa !gaba ≠eip.
itsta !aub !na !gaba ≠eib o, iku !kosa, ina ||kaba u: ≠kei.
ina gu:na di ||nuib kxˀasie, ina ≠ge:ie, ina oe,
ina |uikwa !ho:e ||nãu !na. !nusa ha a, iku ≠ge:ie kuta o, ||nãu.
ina nona kurisas |nõas u: !kwãsibae. i ||garu, ita saoba ho: o, kxˀaosa. ita ho: tama ha o, ita ||kaba u: ≠ke:i.

Translation :

He is taken into the *doro*. Old men look after him. When they go and meet the cows, (the boy drinks milk). He is given a kirri and an assegai (knife).

Then the " laws " are given.

881 *Tabab* was very insistent, that the boy drank the fat and that may be symbolical of the cleansing, here inwardly as well as outwardly. He was also very definite on the question of the cuts : *doro !na |gorekwa ha tama*, " in the *doro* there are no cuts." On these two points, when I questioned him after having told his story, I could get no other answer. The other old men questioned separately, confirmed *Tabab*. The cuts will appear later, as we shall see. They all agreed that the *≠a:di*, the " reed pipes " and dancing went on during the *doro*. The " laws " given by Wuras ~~are~~ slightly different and not so full.

● 177 The *doro* is now extinct. The introduction of Christianity killed it, but it was still practised in the middle of last century, as is testified by the following statement of Andries, a councillor of Massow Rijt Taaibosch at the Witgatboom meeting (1869), " The Korannas instruct their children, when still young, in their laws and customs." (B.C. 298).

The *!gam ||kxaeb* ceremony.

881 304 *ina ibta xami khamma ≠noa o, ina ||nausab si ||nae, ina goman ≠ae, |gorekwa mãsi |kha: kxˀai ||nausab.*

Translation :

If he has shot an animal like a lion, and they go as far as to tell his uncle, oxen are killed and his uncle puts cuts on his body.

Tabab explained that the cuts were on the shoulders downwards on to the abdomen and on the abdomen, stretching horizontally from the navel. No charcoal dust was rubbed in. *Matiti* and *Teteb* confirmed. They all agreed that it was after this test of manliness, the first killing of a large wild animal, that the cuts were made, and that it was, as it were, a continuation of the process of initiation, the catching of the calf in the *doro* being merely a substitute for the real completion of the ceremony. A casual remark of Mrs. Hoernlé in her " Conception on the *!nau* " (p. 70) has been interpreted by Schapera (op. cit. p. 309) as implying that the *doro* and this ceremony are but one. Here, in the data given by *Tabab* and his old associates, we have full confirmation of this, in spite of Schapera's fear that time was past to obtain such confirmation.

Wuras (op. cit. p. 293) describes the rite under the name of *!gutsisa:b* He did not collect any information about its inner significance.

881 The *|habab*, the Girl's Puberty Ceremony.

539 *||haeb ta ha o, |ko:s di |habab, ina !khaib dibae, ina |haruba mãsi ≠hae, ina |kona mã kxˀam ||ab dibae, ina !nose ≠nu, xu:kwa geise !gaba*

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

412
539 The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone scrapers (or knives). The Bushmen made them.

Note :

412 This text was given, on *Tabab*, *Teteb* and *Iis* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word *!khares* also means a " hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 88), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. " They have," he writes, " a *kirri* of olive-wood, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kirri* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored ; through the weight which the kirri gathers from the round stone " the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, " A note on bored stones among the Bantu " in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255 ; and also for the Korana, Meinhof, *Die Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, p. 14.

411 They did not merely shoot with bows and arrows. *!Katsi's* mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (*ǂnao*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 150 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

411
539 *!ha:b sa:kwa di |kwa. tkje !horakwa !ha:b di |kwa tama. tkje |ko:kwa |ga: kha:di |kwa |harubekwa khama |hara ha. tkje ||hiike'awsakwa torob !na gei kha:di thi ǂa:kwa thikwa ǂnma. tkje !hami!na, |kû:di thi gaokwa thikwa surugab !na !kwo:e. tkje gǂab |kwa !hamme.*

Translation :

[857] The Bushmen used poison. The Korana did not use poison. The young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in
[224] the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springboks and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants : *Dgali*, *Matiti* and *Kheis*.

● [m] I take it that the meaning is that the Korana originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Korana

"Vaderlandze of fluytjeariet." The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a 133
tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 20¼, Lat. 29¼.

Wuras, in his *An Account of the Korana* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 533
295 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies, Vol. III. p.* 287), "The Aas (the reed 535
play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone" (sic). "They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) "the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves."

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving 534
the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *pīs* and describes it as "a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute *ǂā'ās* and the reed-dance *ǂā'ā-s/aē-b*, and further states, "They" (the Korana) "have no drum," (sic,) "but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute."

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been 533
completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded
their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the 177
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from 797
Plaatberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Korana. "During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy lora" (printer's error for *gora*, v. infra) "and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the "songs of Zion" had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when
their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matini, undertook 534
to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, 924
river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either
distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This 115

Korana

the S. A. Public Library, Cape Town, where the manuscript now is. 114
The passage in question was intended as a foot-note and runs : "The
women of the Korana tribes had an exactly similar custom of periodically 533
asserting their independence, and visiting the neighbouring kraals in a 535
body, carrying their flutes with them—all the milk of the neighbourhood having been collected at the kraal threatened, when the same scenes of feasting and midnight revels were carried out." I am forced to conclude that Stow was either misinformed or misunderstood his informants when he made the statement that the women were the players. I have searched the records exhaustively in preparing a complete study of all these reed-flute ensembles which I hope to publish shortly, and in no case save that of Stow is there any suggestion that women played the flutes.

These reed-flute ensembles, in which one man contributes one note 533
only, are of particular interest ; it would appear that they represent a 534
stage anterior to that of the classical pan-pipe or syrinx. For even though the maker of a set of these reeds may sound several himself by way of testing them, they are never normally so used in actual performance by these people. I have come across only one instance of the [177]
practice, and it has avowedly arisen through relatively recent European contacts. As it does not concern the Korana I shall not discuss it here.

3. *Stringed Instruments*

(a) The ordinary hunting bow of the Korana was called *khaːs*, and 534
from it three distinct types of stringed instruments appear to have been evolved The first of these is precisely the same in design and materials as its prototype, save that it is much slenderer and is made specially for musical purposes. This instrument is called *!gabus*, and it consists of a slender stock of seasoned *besjebos*, about thirty inches in length, with the bark removed, and thoroughly smoothed where branches have been cut off. Should the wood be too pliable, it may be dried near a fire until sufficiently rigid, but the Korana preferred to let it dry naturally. A groove is cut at one end of the stick and a string of sinew from the back of an ox fixed in this groove by means of a slip knot. The string is then stretched along the stick and secured at the end by being looped round, that part of the string which passes below the sounding portion acting as a kind of "bridge." The tension is adjusted until a convenient pitch is obtained, the pitch being chosen in such a way that certain harmonics of
the string may be readily resonated by the mouth. The end of the 533
instrument at which the string is knotted is placed with its tip against the right hand corner of the mouth, the lips holding it securely, although the mouth behind it is open. The stick must not touch the teeth. The

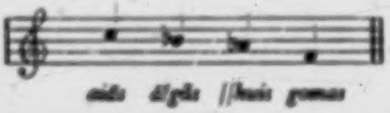
13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Korana

533 But an exactly similar scale occurs in a set of four reed-flutes which I possess, and which were made and played by the */aua gouab sân* or Red-Dunes Bushmen who live near the western fringe of the Kalahari desert, and who have doubtless been in close contact with the Nama Hottentots. The scale of this set of reed-flutes is

Ex. 11.



As regards the method of singing displayed by Daob, one was at once struck by the crispness of his rhythm. Slurring, when used, was deliberate, and in this connection it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, in several of the songs, there are two sounds sung to one syllable. Otherwise there is a considerable agreement in general outline between the words as sung, and the same words as spoken; and this agreement applies also to the relative emphasis of the various syllables. In fact, so "musical" was the speech of certain of the Korana, and so definite the relative pitches of the speech tones, that frequently speech constituted melody, in which one seemed to hear at least six distinct pitches. Nevertheless, I am not at this stage prepared to dogmatise on the point since I have not so far been able to obtain sufficient material upon which to generalise.

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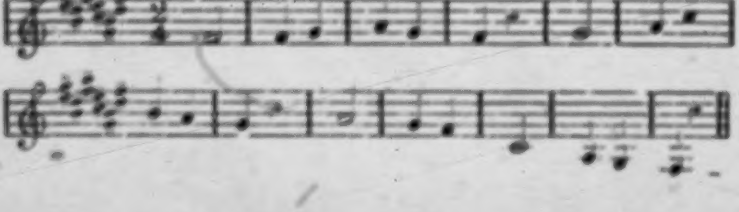
[115]

In addition to the songs performed by old Daob, four Korana women sang a couple of songs. The first of these, reputed to be a lullaby, was sung by Gotis and Keis. European influence is apparent in this song.

Ex. 12. *hada ||nâu*



13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Kŏrana

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The words of this song, which was sung with the drawl that appears to be inevitable when the Bantu, unguided by Europeans, attempt to sing European melody, were

hada ||nãu he: burusa mis,

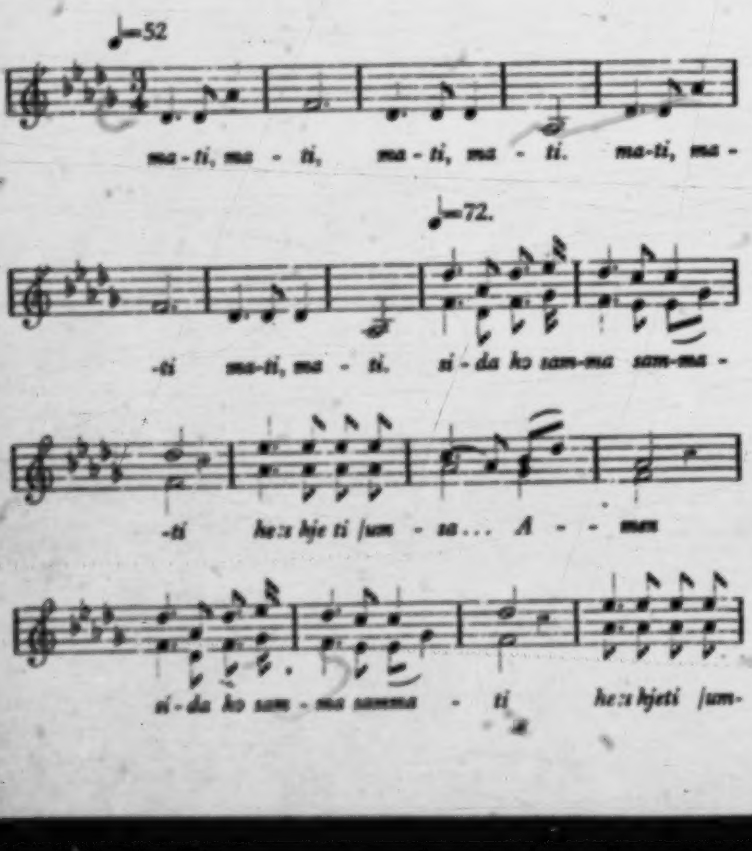
which means

Let us listen to this wonderful little word.

The second song affords an even better example of the use to which the backsliding convert may put the "songs of Zion;" for here, what is palpably a hymn tune, or rather the two upper parts of one, is turned into a lullaby, with secular words. In this case also, the laziness of the rendering was characteristic, and quite opposed to the crisp execution employed by Daob, in spite of his years. The singers were two younger women, Iis and Kwakwaris.

[115]

Ex. 13. *mats, mats*


♩=52
ma-ti, ma - ti, ma - ti, ma - ti. ma-ti, ma -
♩=72.
-ti ma-ti, ma - ti. ti - da kɔ sam-ma sam-ma -
-ti he:s hje ti |um - sa... A - - men
ti - da kɔ sam - ma samma - ti he:s hjeti |um-

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932

FX13 Hottentot FX13

Korana

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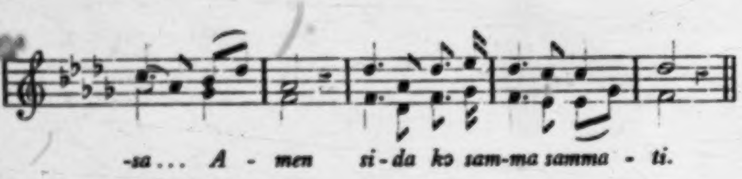

The words, translated, mean

Give me, give me !
We have taken the honey out.
This is my soul. Amen.

This particular song affords an excellent illustration of the distortion of Native words when forced into the Procrustes bed of European hymnology.

MUSICAL TERMS

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In addition to the names given to their musical instruments there are a few musical terms used by the Korana, in spite of the relatively restricted vocabulary of the language. High sounds are called *!kurise ≠nae* and low sounds *!eri doma ≠nae*. A single singer, man or woman, performing alone is *|guse ≠nae*, and a chorus of men and women is called *!kɔ: ≠nae kxʔona*. This latter name would be given to the singers in the *doro* ceremony. The sound of two voices singing the same sound simultaneously is called *|ham domkwa ;* but the sound of two voices singing different notes simultaneously is called *!aŋŋ≠nae*. These last terms indicate clearly the practical recognition of harmony among the Korana.

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821 787 the Namaquas say: "| Hūb ke ni hā," or "Smaub ni hā," the white man is coming, or the trader is coming.

825 787 31. If a cock stands before the door of a house and crows into the house, visitors are expected.

32. If hens try to crow they are caught and killed or chased to death. If this be neglected, the owner is sure to die.

789 33. If a party goes out on a warlike expedition a crow's heart is burnt and pounded and loaded into a gun. The gun is fired into the air, and they believe that as this pounded heart is blown into the air, in the same manner the enemies will fly and become faint-hearted, and they will disperse like timid crows.

832 34. Another most powerful charm is the Duba, a substance of white colour, and of the size of a fowl's egg. This duba is generally found in ant heaps. The duba is pounded and mixed with tobacco, and then put into the pipe. If a girl smokes this mixture she will fall in love with the fellow who offered her the pipe.

177 That these superstitions are of a very recent date is obvious from the fact that the Khoikhoi, only through the white people, have become acquainted with fowls, pipes, guns, and ammunition. Therefore such superstitions in which things, brought from foreign countries, are mentioned, cannot be considered to be common to all Khoikhoi tribes.

In this respect each clan has its own superstition. It is curious to observe that the Khoikhoi have not accepted anything from the Bantu nations, while as regards language and religion, and even customs, it cannot be denied that the Bantu nations, who came in contact with the Khoikhoi, have adopted much which had an improving effect on their original condition. That the !Gona-Khoikhoi in the East greatly influenced the Ama-||khosa; that these people became less ferocious than the Zulus; that the rule of the chiefs among the ||Khosa was no longer so despotical as it generally is among the rest of the Bantu

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

tribes—who could deny? Nay, even the short time that the Bandieru, a branch of the Herero, stood under the sway of the tribe of the Gei|Khaua, has left an impression on those natives which manifests itself in softer manners and a kinder disposition towards strangers, if compared with the manners of the more northerly Hereros towards the Kaoko and Ovamboland.

NOTES TO THE SECOND CHAPTER.

[1] There must have been a peculiar-shaped stone fetish, such as Wangemann describes in "Ein Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika," Berlin, 1868, p. 500: "In a great channel, worked by the rain, we found a big granite block, about six feet in diameter and as round as a ball, which rested on a basis of a softer material. This stone the Basuto worship as their God. They dance round it on one leg, and at the same time spit at it. The place's name is *Cha Ratau*, close to Sekukuni's stronghold.

[2] The honourable gentleman had a conversation with some Hottentots, who were on the most friendly and confidential terms with him. They informed him that they worshipped a certain god, whose head was as large as a hand or fist, who had a hollow in his back, who was possessed of gigantic proportions. To him they prayed for assistance in times of famine, scarcity, or in any other calamity. It was a custom that their wives spread on the head of this deity a red kind of earth, buchu, or other sweet-smelling herbs, this being not one of their offerings only, but one of many. *From this it can be seen that the Hottentot worship also a god.*

[3] Almost verbally the same said a Namaqua, who never had come in contact with missionaries, and who led a Bushman life in the mountains west of *Gei|aus* (about latitude 24° 25′, and longitude 16°). He said: "!Guruïrao ogu ge !Khūb ta goba, tira mi khoiga;